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Table of Contents

A Pragmatic Analysis of the Deictic Expressions <i>je/fei</i> and <i>o/oi</i> in Bangla by Sreemoyee Mukherjee	01-19
Sluicing and the Identity Condition in EkeGusii by Robert Omari Otieno	20-29
A Morphological Sketch of Sanenyo by Suyashi	30-44
A Semantic Interpretation of Bangla Numeral Classifier ‘ <i>ta</i> ’ by Shuvam Dutta	45-54
Representations of Multilingualism in Urban Space: An Analysis of the Linguistic Landscape of Tunisia by Selim Ben Said	55-66
Comparative Analysis of Feluda in Literary Translation by Trishita Nandi	67-85
A Report on My Reflections of Insider and Outsider Position during Fieldwork in Malaysia by Teresa Wai See Ong	86-94
SPATIAL ILLUSTRATION IN LANGUAGE: INSTANCES FROM BANGLA by Anirban Sarkar	95-105
Coordinate Ellipsis in EkeGusii: An Overview by Robert Omari Otieno, Evans Gesura Mecha, David Ogoti Ongarora	106-115
KNITTING RELATIONSHIP THROUGH COMMUNICATION: A DISCOURSE OF CORELATION by P. Sartaj Khan	116-126
Book Review: Language Matters by B.N. Patnaik (2018). Publisher: Dhauri Books. ISBN-10: 9788193602560. ISBN-13: 978-8193602560. ASIN: 8193602560. Pages 134. 2018. By Titas Biswas	127-128



A Pragmatic Analysis of the Deictic Expressions *je/fei* and *o/oi* in Bangla

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ABSTRACT

The paper focuses mainly on one major point which sheds light on how the two distal deictic expressions *je/fei* and *o/oi* are pragmatically different from each other. The study distinguishes the deictic forms in terms of the four pragmatic uses and the pragmatic category of references. The classification is based on the regular usage of deictic expressions in natural language. We turn to a brief study of the deictic expressions in Bangla in this investigation. As we are going to focus mainly on the deictic forms *je/fei* and *o/oi* in this study so it seems important here to include Levinson's consideration about another deictic category on visibility (i.e. visible or invisible) because there are quite a number of languages that encode a basic distinction between objects and places which are visible and non-visible to participants and Bangla is one of those languages. The study uses examples from the works of the great Indian polymath Rabindranath Tagore (7th May 1861- 7th August 1941). The study follows closely the work of Diessel (1999) which I have cited below. My analysis is consistent with Diessel's investigation.

1. Introduction

Deixis is a technical term for one of the most basic things we do with utterances. It means 'pointing' via language. Any linguistic form used to accomplish this 'pointing' is called a deictic expression. Deictic expressions are also sometimes called indexicals. They are among the first forms to be spoken and can be used to indicate people via **Person Deixis** ('me', 'you'), or location and direction via **Spatial Deixis** ('here', 'there'), or time via **Temporal Deixis** ('now', 'often'). Levinson (1983) add to them **Discourse Deixis** that entails the possibility of anaphoric references, and **Social Deixis** which includes those aspects of language structure that are anchored to the social identities of participants in the speech event, or to relations between them, or to relations between them and other referents. All these expressions depend, for their interpretation, on the speaker and hearer sharing the same context. Deixis has a special place in language. In many South Asian languages the pronominal system carries deictic features (in the third person) that are derived directly from demonstratives. These systems have a pair of third person pronouns that contain morphologically overt marker indicating closeness or distance to the speaker. Deixis is clearly tied to the speaker's context, the most basic distinction being between *near the speaker* (proximal) and *away from the speaker* (distal). In English, the proximal deictic expressions include 'this', 'here', 'now' and the distal deictic expressions include 'that',

‘there’, ‘then’. Following the same distinction, Hindi includes *je* ‘this’, *jaha* ‘here’, *ab* ‘now’ for proximal deictic expressions and *vo* ‘that’, *vaha* ‘there’, *tāb* ‘then’ for distal deictic expressions. Among these languages, Bangla is exceptional: not only it has markers for proximal and distal features, but it also has a third marker. Bangla maintains this tripartite division of deictic forms in all the three types of deixis (e.g. Person, Spatial and Temporal) we have known. Here is an overview of the triadic division of deictic forms depending on the types of deixis found in Bangla:

DEIXIS TYPE	[+PROXIMAL]	[+DISTAL]	[+DISTAL]
PERSON	<i>e/ei</i>	<i>o/oi</i>	<i>fe/fei</i>
SPATIAL (LOCATION)	<i>ek^hane/eik^hane</i>	<i>ok^hane/oik^hane</i>	<i>fek^hane/feik^hane</i>
SPATIAL (DIRECTION)	<i>edike/eidike</i>	<i>odike/oidike</i>	<i>fedike/seidike</i>
TEMPORAL	<i>æk^hon</i>	<i>o fəməɔ/oi fəməɔ</i>	<i>tək^hon</i>

We concentrate mostly on the division of deixis with distal feature [+distal] for the purpose of this study. Our main goal is to identify the motive of the division of the Bangla deictic forms *o/oi* and *fe/fei*. The research question that serves to narrow the purpose begins with the principal question,

- How the deictic expressions *fe/fei* and *o/oi* are different from each other in terms of their pragmatics?

As our main goal is to focus on the deictic forms *fe/fei* and *o/oi* in this study so it seems important here to include Levinson’s consideration about another deictic category on visibility (i.e. visible or invisible). This distinction is often subsumed under place deixis as it tends to show up in demonstratives, but it is in fact an independent and parallel dimension of deictic organization that ought to be added to the major categories of deixis. The pragmatic character of indexicality is not the only central issue for a pragmatic theory of deictic expressions. For the organization of the semantic field of contrastive deictic expressions are often itself determined by pragmatic factors.

2. Deixis in Pragmatics

Levinson (1983) defines deixis as ‘the single most obvious way in which the relationship between language and context is reflected in the structures of language themselves. He further expounds that

essentially deixis concerns the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event, and thus also concerns ways in which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context of utterance. Levinson's (1983) standpoint on deixis is grounded under the two approaches; (i) Philosophical Approach, and (ii) Descriptive Approach. Levinson (1983) considers under the rubric of descriptive approach the five main types of deixes. He also starts with *Person Deixis*, *Temporal Deixis* and *Spatial Deixis*. The fourth and fifth factors among the types of deixes propounded were *Discourse Deixis* and *Social Deixis*. Levinson (1983) considers the phenomenon of deixis in detail although supported by accurate examples but it becomes difficult for the reader to maintain sequential link or equal level of interest.

According to Yule (1996), 'Deixis is a technical term for one of the most basic things we do with utterances. It means 'pointing' via language. Any linguistic form used to accomplish this 'pointing' is called a deictic expression. The interpretation of deictic expressions based on Yule (1976, p: 9): 1) depends on speaker and hearer sharing the same context; 2) have their most basic use in face to face interaction; 3) most basic distinction- Proximal terms and distal terms. Yule (1996) discusses the three types of deixis (Person, Spatial, and Temporal). He considers the phenomenon of deixis in a precise and comprehensive manner with appropriate exemplification.

Fillmore (1971, 1975) claims that the interpretation of deixis makes reference to a canonical context, i.e. the speaker-centered context. He focuses on the study of space, time, social and discourse deixis and puts forward that deixis may have both deictic and non-deictic usages. According to Fillmore, deixis refers to those properties of utterances that can only be interpreted when one takes into account the context in which these utterances occur. Every language has its own devices for conveying deictic aspects of communication. These devices can be either LINGUISTIC deictic term, which provide such information as the identity of participants in the discourse (provided by personal pronouns that specify speaker and addressee), their location in space (locatives like *here* and *there* in English), and the time of the utterance (temporal terms like *then*), or EXTRALINGUISTIC devices, such as gestures and facial expressions. Deixis for Huang (2007) can be described as a phenomenon whereby features of context of utterance or speech event are encoded by lexical and grammatical means in language (2007, p: 280). He asserts that language without deixis cannot serve the communicative needs of its users as effectively and efficiently as a language which does have them (p: 132). Huang (2007) presents a similar difference between gesture and symbolic use of deictic expressions adopted from Fillmore (1971, 1975). He (2007) declares that gestural use is the basic use and symbolic use is the extended use and in general, if a deictic expression can be used in a symbolic way, it can also be used in a gestural way, but not vice versa (2007, p:134).

Diessel (1999) provided the first large-scale analysis of demonstratives from a crosslinguistic and diachronic perspective. The author examined the morphological features of demonstratives: the occurrence of demonstrative clitics, the inflectional properties of demonstratives in different syntactic contexts, and the formation of demonstrative stems. It was shown that the occurrence of demonstrative clitics is largely restricted to adnominal demonstratives; pronominal, adverbial and identificational demonstratives are almost always unbound. He also examined the semantic features of demonstratives. The author argued that although pronominal and adnominal demonstratives are not always deictically contrastive, all languages have at least two (adverbial) demonstratives that indicate a contrast on a distance scale: a proximal demonstrative, which refers to a location near the deictic centre, and a distal demonstrative, which indicates a referent at greater distance. Demonstratives serve important pragmatic functions in the communicative interaction between the interlocutors. The pragmatic features are divided into two categories: *Use* and *Reference*. Diessel (1999) distinguished the four different pragmatic uses of demonstratives: (i) the exophoric, (ii) the anaphoric, (iii) the discourse-deictic, and (iv) recognitional uses. The category Reference is further divided into (i) Emphasis, (ii) Contrast, and (iii) Precision. The author also showed that the grammaticalization of demonstratives is

largely determined by the syntactic context in which a demonstrative occurs. Finally, he (1999) concluded with the hypothesis that demonstratives might not derive from lexical items but from a class of genuine deictics that belong to the basic vocabulary of every language.

Louwerse and Bangerter (2005) in their study, addresses the questions whether deictic gestures are substitutable for deictic expressions, and whether deictic gestures establish joint attention. The purpose of this study is two-fold. Firstly, it aims at answering the question whether pointing helps the hearer in the communicative process. The hypothesis investigated in this paper is that deictic gestures help hearers identify the target indirectly, by guiding their gaze to its region. By this hypothesis, pointing helps establish a joint focus of attention between the speaker and hearer. This, in turn, facilitates processing on the part of the hearer. Secondly, the study aims at determining whether deictic gestures are substitutable for language functions. The authors have suggested that the effect of pointing on the addressee is similar to that of a verbal description of an approximate region of space, e.g., “the upper right corner”. The study investigates the effects of referring expressions and pointing gestures on the addressee’s attention.

3. Research Methodology

It is important for a researcher to know not only the research methods necessary for the research under taken but also the methodology. Research methodology is a way to systematically solve a research problem. Essentially it is the procedure by which the researchers go about their work of describing, evaluating and predicting phenomenon. It aims to give the work plan of research. It provides training in choosing methods, materials and techniques relevant for the solution of the problem. It consists of logical sequence of steps or actions that are very necessary to effectively solve a research problem. It is necessary for a researcher to design a methodology for the problem chosen.

Research is the activity of finding information about something that researcher is interested in or need to know about. This part also explains about the research approach and design used in conducting this research. A research design basically means the plan or technique of shaping the research. The function of the research design is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to effectively address the research problem as unambiguously as possible. It carries an important influence on the reliability of the results attained. A research design is needed due to the fact that it allows for the smooth working of the many research operations. This makes the research as effective as possible by providing maximum information. In addition, the research design in this research includes both library and survey research. The library research describes and analyses the pragmatic uses and category of references of the two deictic expressions *je/fei* and *o/oi*. On the other hand, the survey research describes and analyses the intentions of the two deictic expressions (specified in this study) in Bangla.

The theoretical framework put in this study properly fits the research goals and purposes. In the same way, the data gathering method is relevant with the research purposes, theoretical framework and method of data analysis in this thesis.

3.1 Language Investigated

Bangla is the language analysed in this study. Bangla is a world language. Bangla, or –as it is still known to many English speakers– Bengali, is spoken over a continuous swath of land in the northwest of South Asia, and also off the coast of India in Andaman and Nicobar Islands. It is the official language of the Indian state of West Bengal. Bangla is a member of the Indo-Aryan sub-group of the Indo-European language family. In addition, it is a minority language in the Indian states of Jharkhand, Bihar, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland; and, the most spoken language in the Indian union territory of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands (ahead of Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Nicobarese,

Kurux/Oraon, Munda, and Kharia). The Bangla script is descended from the northern variety of Brāhmī, a script which originated in India and from which most modern South Asian scripts are descended, as well as many of those of South East Asia.

Deixis is a dimension which, in Bangla, extends beyond pronoun formation. It is found in personal pronouns as well as inanimates and time, place and manner adverbials and quantifiers. The present study looks into the pragmatics of the deictic expressions of Bangla.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical background of the study focuses on all important theories which the research draws upon during the process of analysis. In order to gain better understanding of deictic forms in Bangla and how they differ from each other in terms of their semantics and pragmatics, the study draws upon research done in the field of deixis and how deixis has always been at the heart of reference research as widely known literature in semantics and pragmatics demonstrates. The theoretical background is further subdivided into four sections. The first section provides a brief exposition of the theoretical framework by discussing Language vs Language use. The second section discusses the difference between Semantics and Pragmatics. The third section talks about Sentences and Utterances. After this, the fourth section discusses the theories and concepts involved in this study of deictic forms in Bangla.

3.2.1 Language vs Language Use

Language is how we make sense of the world. It makes us who we are, and is fundamental to society and the communities we all live in. All human beings use language to express their emotions, ideas, feelings, opinions and expressions. Language is used in different ways to inform or persuade the listener. Language performs innumerable functions depending upon the situation, circumstances and the desired effect that the speaker expects from the utterance. The language used in any communication event does not necessarily entail in- toto with what is in the mind of the interlocutor. The interlocutor may use language to present his opinion, but what he means by that opinion cannot be understood if we carry out just a linguistic analysis of his utterance. Therefore, to know beyond the sentence level, to achieve a deeper understanding of any utterance, to reach to the actual meaning of the interlocutor's message, to understand the unstated and to know more about language use we have to take help of Pragmatics. Pragmatics is "a branch of linguistics concerned with the use of language in social contexts and the ways in which the speaker and the addressee produce and comprehend meaning through language."

The word Pragmatics was coined by philosopher C.W. Morris in 1930. Morris (1938) defined Pragmatics as "the study of the relations between signs and their interpreters". For Leech (1983) "Pragmatics is the study of how utterances have meanings in situations". According to Crystal (1987) "Pragmatics studies the factors that govern our choice of language in social interaction and the effects of our choice on others". Verschueren, (1987) believes that "Pragmatics is a perspective of linguistic adaptation". Yule (1996) defined Pragmatics as "Pragmatics is concerned with the study of meaning as communicated by a speaker or writer and interpreted by a listener or reader". Thus, Pragmatics helps us to understand beyond the sentence level. It facilitates the understanding of the unsaid and unspoken. Mey (2001) believes that the 'user's point of view' is common orienting feature for pragmatic research. Mey while defining the term Pragmatics undertakes the societal character of pragmatics into account and defines pragmatics as, "*Pragmatics studies the use of language in human communication as determined by the condition of society*". (Mey, 2001: 6). Thus after going through these entire definitions one can observe that there is no one definition in Pragmatics.

Irrespective of different approaches to pragmatics, it is not difficult to conclude that pragmatics deals with different aspects of language use. This is how it parts ways with descriptive linguistics that

focuses on the study of language resources like sound, words, rules of grammar, etc. the focus of pragmatics is on the use of these resources in different situations. This view is governed by the assumption that the language use is determined by the context-physical, mental and social.

3.2.2 Sentences and Utterances

According to Bloomfield, the sentence is the largest unit of grammatical description, that is, it is the maximum unit of grammatical analysis. Therefore, the sentence is conveniently, taken as the largest unit of grammatical level (Robins, 1967: 191). However, Schefflen (1974: 19) defines a sentence from a relatively conversational point as he states that a syntactic sentence is not identified according to a grammatical structure; it is instead that unit of speech that is marked off by certain traditional behaviours that accompany the stream of speech. Peter Grundy (1995: 210) refers to a sentence as the formal output of a grammar in which constituent items are combined in a limited set of rule-determined configurations. A sentence is, by definition, grammatically complete. It may, therefore, be preceded and followed by infinite pause or silence, together with those phonetic features associated in each language with pre-pausal position; it is usually marked in writing by final punctuation, full stop, question mark, exclamation mark, or semicolon, and in speech by a characteristic intonation tune. According to Trask (1999: 273), a sentence is the largest linguistic unit, which is held together by rigid grammatical rules.

Utterances can be defined as everything said by one speaker before another speaker beginning to speak. Harris (1951: 14) defines an utterance as:

*“any stretch of talk, by one person, before and
After which there is silence on the part of that person.”*

This definition is also adapted by Lyons (1977a: 26) and Hurford and Heasley (1983: 15). An utterance is the use of a piece of language by a particular speaker on a particular occasion such as a sequence of sentences, or a single phrase, or even a single word. Utterances have verbal and non-verbal qualities. In defining utterance, Charles Goodwin (1981: 7) includes the phenomena of whole vocal production of the speaker such as mid-word plosives, in-breaths, laughter, crying, and pauses...etc. Conversation mainly consists of utterances as Lyons (1972: 61) argues that sentence never occurs in speech. In the same vein, Peter Grundy (1995: 121) embraces this view as he remarks that the sentence has been subsumed within the utterance so that it is no longer a separate component.

According to their form and function, sentences can be classified into different types: simple, complex, interrogative, assertive, and so on. Similarly, H.P. Grice (in Searle 1974:60) talks of utterance types such as non-sentential utterance, indicative utterance, imperative utterance, complete utterance, non-complete utterance, syntactically structured utterance and so on.

As sentences are the typical grammatical products, certain rules and conventions govern their productions. Any sentence conventionally begins with a capital letter and ends with a full stop, a question mark, or an exclamatory symbol. A sentence is an abstract, static and grammatical entity, which is invented by grammarians to exemplify rules of syntax and semantics. It can be broken up into phrases and these again into words. Among the constituents of sentences, there exists a manifold relationship. Thus, sentences are quite clearly structural units. An utterance, on the other hand, is a speech act, which is a form of act or activity. Being a speech act, an utterance is necessarily context bound, whereas a sentence is context free. An utterance is a unit of communication whose significance or value is established by its contextual situation, immediate context and larger context. According to Blake (1990), every sentence consists of clause elements: subject, predicate, object, complement and adjunct. It does not mean that every sentence possesses all of these elements; however, most of the sentences may have subject and predicator. Moreover, the literal meaning is a special feature of a sentence. A sentence being a purely grammatical object is concerned with semantics. Therefore,

semantics deals with sentence meaning. Utterances have linguistic, non-linguistic and pragmatic properties.

3.2.3 Concept of Deixis

The origin of deixis is '*deiktikos*' in Greek, meaning '*pointing*', which reflects the core function of deixis. Since the Greek period, deixis has been a subject of study in philosophy. Many studies on deixis have been conducted from the linguistic point of view (Bühler 1934; Fillmore 1971b, 1975, 1997; Lyons 1968, 1977b; Levinson 1983; Anderson and Keenan 1985; Diessel 1999, Himmelmann 1996, among others). The present study focuses on basic functions corresponding to the meaning of '*deiktikos*' mentioned above. The important feature of deictic pointing is that it cites not only referents but also gestures towards locating them- in relation to a speaker and a hearer. In literature, there have been three traditionally recognized categories of deixis based on three axes, namely, spatial-socio-temporal axes. Spatial deixis is based on spatio-axes, (e.g., *this*, *that*, *here* and *there*). Personal deixis is based on socio-axes (e.g., *I* and *you*). Temporal deixis is based on temporal axes (e.g., *now*, *today* and *yesterday*) but not including before or earlier (Fillmore 1982: 35, 38, Jarvella and Klein 1982: 2). Levinson (1983), following Lyons (1968, 1977a), and Fillmore (1975), adds to them social deixis, that is, honorific and discourse (or text) deixis. Levinson (1983: 63) further argues that visibility (i.e. visible or invisible) should also be considered another deictic category. Crymes (1968: 63) has defined deixis as "any pointing that locates either a real-world referent or a linguistic referent in terms in terms of its orientation to the speaker spatially, temporally, discriminately, affectively". Fillmore (1982: 35) has defined deixis as the name given to uses of items and categories of lexicon and grammar that are controlled by certain details of the interactional situation in which the utterance are produced. For Yule (1996: 9), deixis is a technical term for one of the most basic ones that means '*pointing*' via language. Fillmore also (1997: 59) refers to deictics as those lexical items and grammatical forms which can be interpreted only when the sentences in which they occur are understood as being anchored in some social context, that context defined in such a way as to identify the participants in the communication act, their location in space, and time during which the communication act is performed. For Bühler (1934), any expression which locates a referent in space or time is a deictic expression. Deixis stands at the crossroads of two major fields, namely, semantics and pragmatics. Lyons (1977: 636) has used the term deixis to cover the function of personal and demonstrative pronouns, of tense and of variety of other grammatical and lexical features which relate utterances to the spatio-temporal co-ordinates of the act of utterance. At the semantic level, grammaticalization involves a process of semantic bleaching or fading (Sweetser 1988, 1990): lexical items become semantically less concrete and pragmatically less significant (cf. Heine and Reh 1984: 15).

Anderson and Keenan (1985: 280) argue that a deictic expression unmarked for distance "would be little different from a definite article" or third person pronoun (cf. Frei 1944: 119). In their view, demonstratives are generally distance-marked. Himmelmann (1997: 53-62) takes a different view. He argues that demonstratives do not always encode a deictic contrast. Following Halliday and Hasan (1976: 57-76), Diessel (1999) uses the notion exophoric for demonstratives that are used with reference to entities in the speech situation. He (1999) uses the term endophoric for all other uses. The endophoric use is further subdivided into anaphoric, discourse-deictic and recognitional uses. Anaphoric and discourse deictic demonstratives refer to elements of the ongoing discourse (cf. Fillmore 1997; Lyons 1977; Levinson 1983; Himmelmann 1996, 1997). Himmelmann (1996, 1997) is the first to provide a systematic account of this recognitional use. Diessel (1999) presented three arguments: first, the exophoric use is crucial for the acquisition of demonstratives; second, exophoric demonstratives are morphologically unmarked relative to anaphoric demonstratives and distributionally unmarked vis-à-vis recognitional demonstratives; and third, the grammaticalization of

demonstratives originates from the three endophoric uses. The grammaticalization of demonstratives is cross-linguistically so common that central aspects of grammar such as definiteness-marking and clause combining are crucially determined by this process (cf. Diessel 2006a).

3.3 Data Collection

For a linguistic analysis of language the linguist needs language data. Depending on the theoretical framework and methodological approach of this particular study, data is collected from books. The research design in this research was library research that described and analysed deixis types and the function and references of deixis in Bangla. Library research begins when there is a need of information to solve a problem. Basically, the data of the study we collected are from printed materials. This research used qualitative approach in which the data analysed in this research are texts, in the form of utterances. This research belongs to descriptive study. The steps of collecting data in this research are that:-

- The data was checked by reading and finding the meaning of the speech with the purpose of the research.
- The sentences we have identified are based on the types of deixis supported by Levinson (1983), Yule (1996), Diessel (1999) and Himmelmann (1996).

To collect data, we have used the documentation method. Refers to Shamsuddin & Damaianti (2011: 108) say that ‘Documentation method is used to collect data from non-human sources’. In this research, the method used to collect the data is based on text of speech taken from the works of the great Indian polymath Rabindranath Tagore.

4. The Pragmatic Analysis of the Bangla Deictic Expressions *fe/fei* and *o/oi*

Determining where semantics ends and pragmatics begins, if such a place exists, is of major concern for us, in this study. Though people draw a line between semantics and pragmatics in different places, for most of the theorists the inclusion of contextual considerations and usage are typically regarded as the domain of pragmatics. Pragmatics is the study of the context-dependent aspects of meaning which are systematically abstracted away from in the construction of logical form. Context plays a crucial role in the interpretation and use of natural language. Context also gives us clues as to how to interpret a given use of deictic terms. Moreover, determining whether various meanings of a word in various contexts are properly represented lexically or pragmatically is not a simple task.

Deixis is primarily used to orient the hearer in the speech situation, focusing his or her attention on objects, locations, or persons, but they also serve a variety of other pragmatic functions. In this part, we examine certain points formulated by ourselves to identify how the Bangla deictic expressions *fe/fei* and *o/oi* are pragmatically different from each other. The points formulated are as follows:

- The choice of deictic expressions (between *fe/fei* and *o/oi*) depending on the context of the utterance and the goals of the speaker.
- Is it feasible to distinguish the four pragmatic uses of the deictic expressions (specified in this study) in Bangla in the following ways:-
 - a. The *Exophoric* use of *fe/fei* and *o/oi*
 - b. The *Anaphoric* use of *fe/fei* and *o/oi*
 - c. The *Discourse-Deictic* use of *fe/fei* and *o/oi*
 - d. The *Recognitional* use of *fe/fei* and *o/oi*
- Is it feasible to distinguish the pragmatic category of references of the deictic expressions (specified in this study) in Bangla in the following ways:-
 - (i) *Emphasis* (emphatic or non- emphatic)

1. *o-i* alo je jay re dœk^ha (gestural)

- that-EMPH light.ACC PRT go.PRST.3 PRT see.VN
 ‘That light is visible’
2. purano *ʃe-i* diner kɔt^ha (symbolic)
 old those-EMPH.PL day.GEN memory
 ‘Those old day’s memories’
3. o-i dœk^h poʃcime meg^h g^hɔnalo (gestural)
 that-EMPH see west.LOC cloud overcast.PST.INDF.3
 ‘Look at the clouds getting closer in the west’
4. *ʃe-i* sriti-ʈuku kob^hu k^hɔne-k^hɔne jæno jage mone (symbolic)
 that-EMPH memory-CL ever often.LOC DISC.PRT loom heart.LOC
 ‘Wish we do not lose that tiny remembrance which looms about every now and then’

The deictic expressions in all the sentences involve the speaker (or some other person) as the deictic centre. They are anchored in the speech situation which indicates that they are exophoric. However, only the deictic expressions in (1) and (3) can be accompanied by pointing gestures. This example illustrates the gestural use. The deictic expressions in (2) and (4), which does not involve pointing gestures, draws on knowledge about the larger situational context which involves more than what is immediately visible in the surrounding situation. This example illustrates the symbolic use. The symbolic usage shows that the exophoric use is not limited to concrete referents that are present in the surrounding situation. Therefore, the difference between the deictic expressions *o/oi* and *ʃe/ʃei* is that the former can be used exophorically as ‘pointers’ which simply locate an object in the physical world and the latter refers to entities that are not immediately visible in the speech situation. The reference frame of exophorically used deictic expressions is a mental model of the speech situation (i.e. it is not the physical situation surrounding the interlocutors).

b. The Anaphoric Use of *ʃe/ʃei* and *o/oi*:

In linguistics, an *anaphor* is the phenomenon of one linguistic expression (typically a pronoun) referring to another linguistic expression in the same discourse to avoid repetition. A *referent* is the object, idea, fact or event named by (referred to) by a referring expression (typically a noun phrase or a pronoun; however, other syntactic phrases and even grammatical functions such as verb, tense can be referential too). An *antecedent* is the linguistic expression to which the anaphor points thus forming the anaphor. Finally, *co-reference* arises when two or more expressions refer to the same item (i.e. have the same *referent*), as is the case with the anaphor and its antecedent. Every anaphoric use of deictic words presupposes one thing: that the sender and the receiver have the flow of speech in front of them and can reach ahead and back to its parts. In the case of anaphorically used deictic expressions, the deictic centre is shifted to a specific place in the progressing discourse. Anaphoric deictic expressions interact with other tracking devices such as personal pronouns, definite articles, zero anaphors, and pronominal affixes on the verb. Unlike exophoric deictic expressions, which are primarily used to orient the hearer in the outside world, anaphoric deictic expressions serve a language internal function: they are used to track participants of the preceding discourse. Himmelmann (1996) refers to the anaphoric use as ‘tracking use’, emphasizing that the discourse pragmatic function of demonstratives is co-referential with a prior NP.

Before moving on to the subject of discussion, we need to define *cataphora*, which appears to be important to the matter at hand. *Cataphora* is the use of a pronoun or other linguistic unit to refer ahead to another word in a sentence. The word that gets its meaning from a subsequent word or phrase is called a *cataphor*. The subsequent word or phrase is called the *referent*, or *head*. Endophora is co-

reference of an expression with another expression either before it or after it. One expression provides the information necessary to interpret the other. *Cataphora* and *anaphora* are the two main types of endophora—that is, reference to an item within the text itself.

Now let us return to the main concern of this segment. At this position, we have noted that the deictic expression *o/oī* in Bangla can be used both anaphorically and cataphorically whereas the other deictic expression *fe/fei* can be used only anaphorically. The two uses are exemplified in the following examples in Bangla (Tagore, 1932 and Tagore, 1912, 1920-21):

➤ *Anaphoric use of o/oī:*

5. Tritio junok: guru amader abar guru kot^hay
 teacher GEN.PL.1 DISC.PRT teacher where
 amra to dada^takurer dōl
 NOM.PL.1 DISC.PRT dadathakur.GEN group
 e porjonto amra kono guruke mani-ni
 now until NOM.PL.1 none teacher.ACC accept-NEG
 Prot^hom junok: feijonno-i to o jiniṣṭa kirokom dek^hte icc^he
 that's-why-EMPH PRT that thing.CL how see.INF wish.INF
 kore
 do.PRST.INDF

‘3rd Junok(a tribe): Teacher? We don’t have a teacher. We belong to dadathakur’s splinter group. Until now we haven’t agreed to take somebody as our teacher.

1st Junok: That is why we wish to see how a teacher is.’

➤ *Cataphoric use of o/oī:*

6. t^hakurdada: e-i je amader jonnoṣṭi
 this-EMPH DISC.PRT GEN.PL.1 monk
 prot^hom bekti: o jeno k^helar jonnoṣṭi
 NOM.SG.3 as-if playful monk

‘Thakurdada: This is our monk

First person: He is a frisky monk’

(Rinsodh, Tagore, 1921)

➤ *Anaphoric use of fe/fei:*

7. dæk^ho-dæk^ho fe-i lokṭa abar ækdōl lok nie aḥc^he
 see.PRST.INDF.2 that-EMPH man.CL again group man with come.PRF.PRST.3
 ‘See that man is coming again in a group’

(Arupratan, Tagore, 1920)

➤ *Cataphoric use of fe/fei:*

8. *t^hakurdada: e-i je amader jonnoṣṭi
 this-EMPH DISC.PRT GEN.PL.1 monk
 prot^hom bekti: fe jeno k^helar jonnoṣṭi
 NOM.SG.3 as-if playful monk

‘Thakurdada: This is our monk

First person: He is a frisky monk’

In (5) the deictic expression *o* is anaphoric because it refers to guru ‘a teacher’ as introduced previously in the context of utterances. The use of *fe* in (8) in lieu of *o* from (6) in the cataphoric use would sound unacceptable. *fe/fei* refers to something that has already been established, it always

appears within the contextual supervision. From the above examples it is clear that the deictic expressions *o/oi* can be used both anaphorically and cataphorically but *fe/fei* can be used only anaphorically. The deictic expression *fei* in (7) refers to what precedes. The deictic expressions *fe/fei* are often regarded as more anaphoric than *o/oi* and cannot be fully understood without additional contextual information. Anaphora and deixis have a great deal in common. Forms may be simultaneously deictic and anaphoric (Stirling and Huddleston, 2002).

c. The Discourse-Deictic Use of *fe/fei* and *o/oi*:

Discourse is a concept that is frequently used in literary discussions today. There are different definitions of discourse, which are sometimes contradictory. Discourse refers to the set of norms, preferences, and expectations relating language to context, which language users draw on and modify in producing and making sense out of language in context (Ochs, 1992). Different discourse analysts have tried to define it in different ways to restrict the scope of this vast domain to meet the needs of their individual purposes. Similar to anaphoric deictic expressions, discourse deictic expressions refer to elements of the surrounding discourse. *Discourse* or text deixis describes deictic expressions which point to prior or succeeding parts of the discourse (Kryk-Kastovsky 1995, 331). For convenience one can define discourse deixis as some kind of commentary on the text or conversation by the speaker. Levinson (1983, p. 85-86) added that discourse deixis should be distinguished from a related notion that of anaphora. Moreover, discourse deixis shares with anaphora and cataphora the capacity to function as a text cohesion device. Deictic or other referring expressions are often used to introduce a referent, and anaphors are used to refer to the same entity thereafter. The anaphoric-deictic expressions usually persist in the subsequent discourse, while the referent of the discourse-deictic expression is not continued. However, it is important to remember that deictic and anaphoric usages are not mutually exclusive. Discourse deictic is an expression used to refer to certain discourse that contain the utterance or as a signal and its relations to surrounding text. Discourse deictic expressions are, however, not co-referential with a prior NP, rather, they refer to propositions (or speech acts) (Lyons, 1977; Weber, 1991; Himmelmann, 1996; Fillmore, 1997). In other words, they are used to focus the hearer's attention on aspects of meaning expressed by a clause, a sentence, a paragraph, or entire story. The interpretation of a discourse-deictic expression requires the understander to operate upon the immediate context, constructing out of it an entity, proposition or illocution which can later be retrieved via an attenuated indexical expression. Diessel (1999a) argues that the discourse deictic expression creates an overt link between two discourse units and functions, like sentence connectives, to combine two portions of discourse. Now let us explore the main concern of this segment, the discourse-deictic use of *fe/fei* and *o/oi* and how these deictic expressions are different from each other. Consider the following examples illustrated in the following excerpt (Tagore, 1932 and Tagore, 1912):

➤ Discourse-Deictic use of *fe/fei*:

9. tumi debi dōya kore p^hirae diec^ho mor pran

you.NOM.SG.2 goddess kind do.INF return.INF give.PRF.PRST.2 GEN.SG.1 life

fe-i kōt^ha ridæ jagae rōbe cirokritōggōta

that-EMPH talk heart.LOC awake.INF put.FUT.INDF forever-grateful

'Goddess, you have graciously restored my life back and that will persevere in me with forever gratefulness'

10. pōncok: pap korec^hij ki pap

mistake do.PRF.PRST.2 DISC.PRT mistake

sub^hōdro: *fe* ami bolte parbo na

that NOM.SG.1 tell.INF able.FUT.INDF.1 NEG
 ‘Panchak: Mistake! What kind of a mistake?
 Subhodro: That I cannot tell you’

➤ *Discourse-Deictic use of o/oi:*

11. hōtob^haga c^hora-ta pər-er day g^hare niye-i morbe

unfortunate boy-CL other-GEN burden neck.LOC take-EMPH die.FUT.INDF.3
 æk-æk-jon-er oi-rəkom mōra-i ʃəb^hab
 each-one-CL-GEN that-way die-EMPH habit

‘That ill-fated young boy will die laying hold of other’s burden. There are individuals who have this tendency of becoming void by serving others.’

In the examples (9) and (10) the deictic expressions *fei* and *fe* operates upon the context, constructing a proposition and then pointing to the preceded parts of the discourse. *fe/fei* specializes in picking out that has happened in the past and is out of the ongoing centre of attention. When using the deictic expressions *fe/fei*, the listener characterizes the speaker’s “psychological distance” to its referent as ‘far away’. *fe/fei* is not used in the referent-finding process but rather afterwards, in attributing the speaker’s relationship to that referent. Moreover, the use of *fe/fei* to express discourse deixis is also tied to the temporal dimension of discourse. In (11) we can see that *oi* refers to entities or situations which are in current focus of attention. The deictic expression *o/oi* makes reference to something that is instantly nearby, ready and available. Therefore, the difference between the two deictic expressions *fe/fei* and *o/oi* are adequately constructive.

d. The *Recognitional Use of fe/fei and o/oi:*

The *recognitional* use has received much less attention than any of the other uses. Although this use is recognized in a number of studies (e.g. Lakoff 1974; Auer 1981, 1984; Chen 1990; Gundel et al. 1993), it has never been described in detail. Himmelmann (1996, 1997) is the first to provide a systematic account of this use.

The recognitional use has two properties that distinguish it from all other uses. First, recognitional deictic expressions are only used ad-nominally. Second, recognitional-deictic expressions do not have a referent in the preceding discourse or the surrounding situation; rather, they are used to active specific shared knowledge. Consider the following example in English from Himmelmann (1996: 230).

12. ...it was filmed in California, those dusty kinds of hills that they have out there in Stockton and all ...so...

In (12) the *dusty hills* are mentioned for the first time. Although first mentions are usually marked by an indefinite article in English, the *dusty hills* occur with the distal deictic *those*. The deictic expression indicates that the following noun expresses information that is familiar to the hearer due to shared experience.

Recognitional use of deixis mark information that is *discourse new* and *hearer old*. Prince (1992) introduces the terms “discourse new/ discourse old” and “hearer new/ hearer old” in order to distinguish information that has been evoked by the preceding discourse from information that is already in the hearer’s knowledge store (i.e. old with respect to the speaker’s beliefs). Such information is *unactivated* (9cf. Chafe 1987; 1994), but *pragmatically presupposed* (cf. Dryer 1996). More precisely, recognitional use of deixis mark information that is (i) discourse new, (ii) hearer old and (iii) “private” (Himmelmann uses the term “specific” rather than private). Private information is information that speaker and hearer share due to common experience in the past. It is distinguished

from *general cultural information* shared by all members of the speech community. General cultural information is also hearer old at its first mention, but unlike private hearer old information it is marked by a definite article in English.

Like anaphoric-deictic and discourse-deictic expressions, recognitional use of deixis have a particular form. We shall discuss the recognitional use of deictic expressions (*fe/fei* and *o/oi*) from Bangla in the following (Tagore, 1924):

➤ *Recognitional use of fe/fei:*

13. *fe* p^he t^hbo d^huli aj-o kori je j^hnd^han

that way.LOC GEN.SG.2 dirt today-EMPH do.PRST.INDF.1 DISC.PRT search
'Until today I strive for your presence for travelling along'

(Khanika, Tagore, 1924; 132)

14. *fe-i* mad^huri aj ki h^hbe p^haki

that-EMPH beauty today DISC.PRT happen.FUT.INDF.3 conceal
'Is that beauty intends to be concealing today'

(Bismaran, Tagore, 1924; 137)

➤ *Recognitional use of o/oi:*

15. o-i je go namhara

that-EMPH PRT DISC.PRT nameless

o-i ki h^hbe amar apon tara

NOM.SG.3.EMPH DISC.PRT become.FUT.INDF.3 GEN.SG.1 own star

'Is that unknown living soul going to be my own star'

Here *fe* and *fei* from the examples (13) and (14) indicate that the words following these deictic expressions express private information that is familiar to the hearer due to shared experience. The recognitional use of *fe* and *fei* in examples mark information that is discourse new and hearer old. In case of (15) *oi* is selected because the speaker assumes his addressee does not know about the entity being mentioned, or in questions where the speaker cannot identify the entity and believes that the hearer can retrieve the referent, which the hearer may not. The deictic expression *oi* in (15) marks information that is discourse new and also hearer new. The difference between the two deictic expressions is evidently observable. For Lakoff (1974: 247-51) the use of recognitional deixis is also called 'emotional deixis' which indicates emotional closeness or solidarity, sympathy, and shared beliefs between the two participants by implying that they share the same view.

Deixis has always been at the heart of reference research as widely known literature in semantics and pragmatics demonstrates. All natural languages do have deixis and the task of linguistic analysis is to model these directly in order to capture ways in which these are used. So far, many scholars such as Levinson, Wales, Anderson, Pierce, Fillmore, Lyons, Keenan and others have tackled the problem with respect to deixis with reference to English and some other languages. Now let us discuss on the third point. The third point is formulated to analyse the various pragmatic category of *references* of the deictic expressions *fe/fei* and *o/oi* in Bangla. The category of References is divided into (i) *Emphasis*, (ii) *Contrast*, and (iii) *Precision*. The features of these categories indicate the kind of reference that is expressed by a deixis. More specifically, they indicate whether a deictic expression is (i) emphatic or non-emphatic, (ii) contrastive or non-contrastive, and (iii) whether it is used with vague or precise reference.

Emphasizer is a kind of connector between two sets of things (including two actions and action-

segments). There are three deictics in Bangla *e*, *o*, *fe* used with singular, plural and non-count nouns. In Bangla, emphatic inclusive *-i* and *-o* are usually added to the nominative forms: *ei*, *oi* and *fei*. For instance take the following examples:

(i) **Emphasizers *-i* and *-o*:**

➤ The use of Emphasizer *-i*:

16. *fe-i* pracin mondir

that-EMPH old temple
'That ancient temple'

17. *o-i* pacṭa kukur

that-EMPH five.CL dog
'Those five dogs'

➤ The use of Emphasizer *-o*:

18. *fe-o* bæparta jane

NOM.SG.3.EMPH matter.CL know.PRST.INDF.3
'He also knows the matter'

19. **o-o* aſc^he

NOM.SG.3.EMPH come.PRF.PRST.3
'He is also coming'

Here in the examples (16) and (17) we can see no difference between the two deictic expressions when added by an emphasizer *-i*. The emphasizer *-i* appears to help pinpoint the entity, differentiates the entity or the referent from all other sets and specifies that, only that entity or referent is involved in the discourse at that time. This is, therefore what can be called a *dissociative emphasizer*. Today, due to their frequent occurrence with deictic expressions, the particle tends to lack its emphatic force in the context. Now let us take the case of the emphasizer *-o*. In the example (18) the emphasizer *-o* takes a previous set of referents and adds one more referent or entity to it. This is, therefore, an *associative emphasizer*. When this emphasizer *-o* is attached to the deictic expression *fe* in (18), it takes the first referent or entity on top of some other referents or entities not specified in the utterance but implied in it and connects the previous referent with the second one of the utterance. In (19) the addition of the emphasizer *-o* to the deictic expression *o* appears unsatisfactory and exceptionable. However, the semantic and the pragmatic differences between *fe/fei* and *o/oi* remains the same. Thus, emphasizers play an important role in connecting two events or entities or referents.

Contrast, the second category of reference, is usually expressed through a contrastive referent "as when pointing out one member of a group" (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 289). Contrastive reference, where speaker presents or identifies one item in explicit contrast to another, has special communicative and information structure properties. For example (Tagore, 1920-21):

(ii) **The Contrastive nature of *o/oi* and *fe/fei*:**

20. *o* ke ceye dæk^h ſurɔŋgoma

NOM.SG.3 who look.INF see.PRST.3 Surongoma
'Surongoma look who is he.'

21. *o-i* je pɔrodefi eſec^he

that-EMPH DISC.PRT immigrant come.PRF.PRST.3
'There the immigrant has come.'

22. *na* *fe* cœcay

NEG NOM.SG.3 shout.PRST.3

‘No, he only shouts.’

23. *fe-i* loktar ʃob^hay ækdin ʃuroʃen bina bajiec^hilen

that-EMPH man.CL.GEN forum.LOC one-day Surosen veena play.PRF.PST.3

‘Surosen played veena in the forum of that man.’

In the examples (20) and (21), the deictic uses of *o* and *oi* indicate that the speaker selects the referent “out of a set”. In contrastive contexts, there are limits on the identity of the referent for the deictic expressions like *o* and *oi*—the referent must come from the set of the candidates given by the context. There is empirical evidence that under certain discourse conditions, the existence of a contrast set in the discourse places an extra burden on working memory (Cowles, 2003; Cowles, Polinsky, Kutas, and Kluender, 2004). While on the contrary, the deictic expressions *fe* and *fei* in (22) and (23) does not point out one member out of a group. These deictic expressions do not refer to anything specifically out of the given set of referents or entities or events. The interpretation of the deictic expressions *fe* and *fei* depends only on general knowledge of the extralinguistic situation.

Finally, we move nearer to the third category of reference which postulates that the deictic expressions *fe/fei* and *o/oi* indicate either vague or precise reference. *Precision* refers to the quality, condition, or fact of being exact and accurate in the identification of the object of reference by the choice of a precise deictic expression which is close to the referent being mentioned. *Vagueness*, on the contrary, is the lack of preciseness while referring to the object of reference. The threat to recovering the speaker’s intended reference is vagueness. The linguists and the lay-people typically use it as “vagueness” (insufficient information), which means (auto-logically), *insufficiently-informative* for the current purposes. Here we are more concerned about the ‘vague’ reference of entities because we infer that the deictic expressions *fe/fei* and *o/oi* have a referent with *blurred boundaries*. Let us now take a look at examples with the deictic expressions *fe/fei* and *o/oi* (not referring to one clearly defined object) in the following (Tagore, 1934):

(iii) *Precision and Vagueness of o/oi and fe/fei:*

24. ami aj *fe*-diner punorukti kore jabo

NOM.SG.1 today that-day.GEN reiterate do.INF go.FUT.INDF.1

‘Today I shall reiterate my words uttered earlier.’

25. tomra jake petrioṭ bōlo ami *fe-i* petrioṭ noi

you.NOM.PL.2 whom.ACC patriot say.PST.2 NOM.SG.1 that-EMPH patriot NEG

‘I am not a patriot identical to the one you think.’

26. Amake o b^hoy kore

ACC.SG.1 NOM.SG.3 scare.INF do.PRST.INDF

‘He is afraid of me.’

27. *o-i* je rastar mor

there-EMPH DISC.PRT road.GEN twist

‘There is the road’s crossing.’

The deictic expressions in (24) and (25) have a referent or a speech event with unclear boundaries. They have a virtually unlimited and incomplete range of specified meanings and no clear antecedents. *fe* and *fei* refers to entities which seems indefinitely extendible to the extension. The extension of the referent is not bounded. Likewise, the deictic expressions *o* and *oi* in (26) and (27) also have vague references, but in the way that they are used with an immediate view to situational circumstances including the pointing gestures, these expressions can be made precise.

5. Conclusion

The central focus of this paper is an exploration into the pragmatic difference of deictic expressions in Bangla. Deictic reference plays a particularly important role in language. It plays a crucial part in the evolution of language, prior to the full-scale recursive, symbolic system characteristic of modern human language. Several areas of research have been pondered in the course of developing the background for the present study.

As a concluding remark, it is relevant to stress that this classification is based on the regular usage of deictic expressions in natural language. It is certainly possible to come up with counter-examples and exceptional cases of the use of deixis, which do not fit into this view. Moreover, studying counter-examples and exceptional cases would certainly be of interest to achieve a more fine grained classification.

So, coming back to the first point about the choice of deictic expressions (between *fe/fei* and *o/oi*) depending on the context of the utterance and the goals of the speaker, we came to the following conclusions: firstly, in case of the *exophoric* context of deictic use, the expressions *fe/fei* and *o/oi* involves the speaker as the deictic centre. When the speaker intends to simply locate an object in the physical world *o/oi* is used and when the speaker intends to refer to entities that are not immediately visible in the speech situation *fe/fei* is used. Secondly, in the *anaphoric* context of deictic use, when the speaker plans to refer to something that has already been established, *fe/fei* is used. The deictic expression *o/oi* is used to refer to both the preceding and the succeeding word or phrase. Thirdly, in the *discourse-deictic* context, *fe/fei* is used in attributing the speaker's relationship to that referent, whereas, the deictic expression *o/oi* is used to refer to entities or situations which are in current focus of attention. The deictic expression *o/oi* makes reference to something that is instantly nearby, ready and available. Finally, in the *recognitional* context of deictic use, *fe/fei* marks information that is discourse new and hearer old and *o/oi* marks information that is discourse new and also hearer new. The deictic expression *o/oi* is selected when the speaker assumes his addressee does not know about the entity being mentioned, or in questions where the speaker cannot identify the entity and believes that the hearer can retrieve the referent, which the hearer may not. All these four points mentioned in this study, elaborately explains about how the two deictic expressions (*fe/fei* and *o/oi*) in Bangla differ from each other depending on the context of the utterance and the goals of the speaker. The pragmatic subdomain of deixis seeks to characterize the properties of shifters, indexicals, or token-reflexives, expressions like 'I', 'you', 'here', 'there', 'now', 'then', 'hereby', tense/aspect markers in English, etc.), whose meanings are constant but whose reference vary with the speaker, hearer, time and place of utterance, style or register, or purpose of speech act (Levinson 1983). Deixis, in a broad sense, is a potentially context-dependent linguistic expression and typically anchoring in the perspective of the speaker. In this regard, the view that deixis is, in fact, a part of pragmatics is highly advocated, as its interpretation depends directly and primarily on features of the context involved.

5.1 Future Directions:

In this final section, we outline the area of future research that would thematically continue the current work. The vast majority of grammars that we have consulted use semantic labels such as 'proximal' or 'near the speaker' in order to characterize the meaning of the deictic expressions. These labels are, however, only rough approximations. It would be a very interesting project to study the semantic values of deixis and deictic expressions in greater detail.

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Sluicing and the Identity Condition in EkeGusii

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ABSTRACT

This paper proposes a tri modular approach of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic to sluice interpretation. Use of one level of language to analyse a syntactic construction can only capture what is syntactic, semantic or pragmatic. I wish to state that language levels act in tandem to produce meaning and aid in interpretation. Data analysed has clearly demonstrated that one level of language cannot represent meaning of a sluiced construction. This also calls for readjustment of the definition of a sluice. Which will give theory enough explanatory power to describe language operations.

1.0 Introduction

Ellipsis as a cohesive device in grammar has many facets, sluicing being one of them. Sluicing is a type of ellipsis in which an interrogative element is understood as a complete question a concept credited to Ross (1969). Sluicing is considered as a form of phrasal ellipsis in the literature; hence it should typically target a syntactic constituent in its derivation. The definition that sluicing refers to elliptical structures where all but (a) *wh*-phrase(s) in a clause is unpronounced simply seals what sluices are or its structure looks like. This means that sluicing involves a coordinated construction in which the second clause is elided leaving the *wh*- word based on the fulfilment of the identity condition as in (1) below.

(1) *P-F*:

Omo-nto n-a-rema mogondo, korende ti-many-et-i ningo Δ. ?

NC1-person Foc-3psg-dug in-garden but 1psg-Neg-know-fv who

“A person dug the garden but i dont know who?”

(Δ=*orema omogondo*)

***L-F*:**

omonto na-rema mogondo, korende ti-many-et-i ningo ~~orema omogondo~~

Extant literature on sluicing and extant theoretical propositions based on sets of data have yet to settle the puzzle of identity in sluices and ellipsis in general. If we go the syntactic way, it will require elements in the structure in both conjuncts to bare the same constituent organization, if we follow the

syntactic way, it is assumed that syntactic identity is disregarded and instead insist that the elements in both conjuncts be composed of the same lexical expressions. This is easier said, than done. What becomes of data with partial identity or that goes contrary to these two approaches? The elided clause is partially identical to the antecedent clause and the remnant is a (set of) wh-phrase. It is presumed that a “Wh-question” version of the antecedent for the sluice is at SPEC position so that the isomorphism talked of is complete when ellipsis happens. Interpretation of the sluice will use the antecedent to recover meaning and the WH- extraction which substitutes the DP *omonto* (person) with the WH- word *ningo*.

Analysis on sluices tend to follow two approaches which see structure in the ellipted site, they are branded as movement versus non movement approaches. The first approach proposed by Ross (1969) and supported by among others Lasnik (2001), Chung (2006) insist that sluicing involves movement of a WH- phrase out of a sentential constituent before being deleted. For deletion to take place there has to be some kind of structural identity of the elements in both conjuncts to warrant deletion. Ross (1969) argued that the two phrases must bare the same case.

The second approach used among others MacCloskey (1995), Merchant (2001) argue that ellipsis consists of a designated null category drawn from the lexicon which is replacing after spell out by a phrase marker copied from the antecedent. According to this approach, there is no movement and that what seems to be an identical phrase in the second conjunct is in Logical form but not realised at PF. This approach goes for semantic identity in which redundant elements in conjunct two that are entailed in conjunct one are elided; this means that (1) above appearing as (1b) will look like:

(1b) *omonto na-rema mogondo, korende ti-many-et-i ningo orema omogondo*

The underlined elements are presumed to obey the identity rule which licenses the sluice.

This type of approach may lead to a question, is there ellipsis then? I will thus argue for an analysis of sluices which follows a dual modular approach to sluices meaning that interpretation of sluices will be sensitive to semantic and syntactic contributions. This will mean blending Ross (1969) identity condition and Merchant (2001) semantic isomorphism because syntax will supply the structure and semantics the meaning.

The two approaches, that is syntactic and semantic can be said to be too general because they fail to capture or account for partial identity and mismatches that abound in language expressions. Examples from data presented as in (6)(7) below are bare realities that calls for some theory evaluation and readjustment to take care of what may seem deviant from the general trend in analysing expressions such as sluices in language.

Barros (2014) proposes a Split Identity condition hypothesis in which the remnant condition is novel, and requires that the remnant have a syntactic correlate in the antecedent with which it matches semantically. This in my view runs into problems if it is put to test with data requiring pragmatic input as in (3) below. If the sluice has a syntactic correlate which is semantically identical, then the identity condition is met, if the sluiced question and the antecedent entail each other then the semantic interpretation is solved. This in my view lacks explanatory power to account for contextual enrichment that contribute to meaning making. This demonstrates that the identity debate continue to lean towards a dual approach to sluice interpretation. Since an expression is understood in some context a tri-modular approach which pragmatics is incorporated will solve most issues in the interpretation of elliptic and sluiced constructions. If a syntactic constituent in the antecedent

constitutes the remnant's correlate, then there is semantic entailment as in (AnderBois's inquisitive mutual entailment condition).) which licenses the sluice, though EkeGusii has some exceptions to this condition in (3) and (4) below.

2.0 Objectives

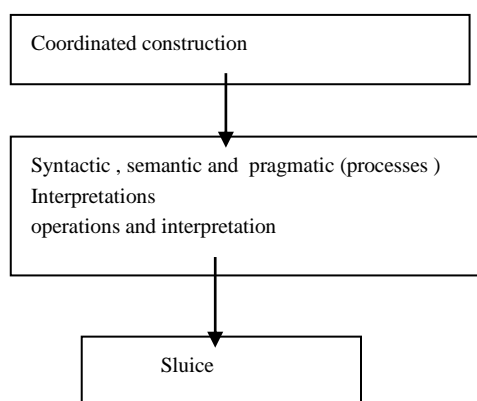
This paper offers an empirical description of sluicing in EkeGusii. It aims to state a case for a tri-modular approach to the interpretation of sluices by showing that the three levels of languages analysis namely, syntax, semantics and pragmatics act in tandem by using current developments in the Minimalist programme.

3.0 Theoretical Background

The theoretical tenets being applied in this paper are from the minimalist program Chomsky (1995). Chomsky (1995a,) posted that a linguistic theory does not concern itself with these pragmatic facts which he actually assigns to performance. Because of this, the Minimalist program lacked the capacity to handle contextual issues hence Reinhart (2006) conceptual inference theory was incorporated into the Minimalist program to cover the conceptual inference which is the interpretive level of logical form that was missing in the Minimalist Program to account for the pragmatic aspect of language use. If we borrow arguments from the MP concept of language having an Optimal Design, the computational system then makes use of include inference to the lexicon context so that expressions that reach the sensori- motor stage have well formed and logical. This means that language is context based and this emphasises the importance of pragmatics in any linguistic interpretation.

4.0 Research methodology

This paper proposes to give an analysis of sluices by arguing that the identity condition should take a syntactic and semantic approach because of the mismatches that are evident in the sluice site and its antecedent. This requires some kind of hybrid theory which in my view incorporates there levels of language for a fair and complete interpretation. A purely syntactic approach is unable to interpret the sluice site, same as a purely semantic approach since syntactic operations leading to deletions require explanations from other levels. Merchant (2001) argument in favour of semantic isomorphism rather than the syntactic one which in most cases is partial in my view is in the right direction only if it will incorporate the syntactic level. This calls for readjustment in the definition of what sluice structure is. The proposed approach will have the following approach;



Data discussed has been generated by the author who is a native speaker of the language. EkeGusii is a

Bantu language spoken in western Kenya with a population of 2, 05, 669 million people (GoK Census Report, 2009). It is an agglutinating language with a rich morphology and a complex noun class system. Nouns have a class prefix. The subject is marked on the verb with a concord marker that depends on the class of the subject noun. The object marker is realised when there is no overt full object noun phrase, thus is a pronominal. The name of the language Eke-Gusii has the singular marker (Eke-) for the language and (Gusii) the place where the language is spoken. The people who speak the language are known as Aba-Gusii with (aba-) being a plural marker referring to the people.

5.0 Discussions

5.1 *Isomorphism in Sluices*

I wish to start by saying that separation of language levels such as phonetics/phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics to be discussed in isolation is purely academic. This is meant to give language an abstract structure so that it will be easy to understand how the different levels of representation perform in the language system. As per the Minimalist approach, words are drawn from the lexicon with their idiosyncratic features and rules both syntactic and semantic with legibility conditions which license their grammaticality and be accepted to reach full interpretation. The notion of autonomy that was central in early generative grammars seems to have petered out and there is more cognizance that more than one level is required to achieve the desired criteria of adequacy.

This being the case, problems arising out of analysis of cases such as sluicing could have straight forward explanations if syntax, semantics and pragmatics were to be understood to be working in tandem. If we talk of semantic identity only, where is the syntactic contribution to the compositional meaning? On what structures does semantic analysis act on? In which context has the expression been interpreted? This applies to the other two levels if analysis is based only in one of them. However, the handling of identity or parallelism calls for application of a principle that synthesizes the three aspects of parallelism by generalizing them to one principle of grammatical parallelism, in formally given as:

Generalized Principle of Grammatical Parallelism

An element α is deleted or recovered by adhering to an aspect of grammatical identity of α to an element β in a coordinate structure. The element α may be simultaneously semantically, pragmatically and semantically parallel to β on the surface.

The isomorphism assumption in co-ordinated structures is motivated by the insight that deletion should only happen whenever the elided material is recoverable. To comprehend (1) the sluiced part must be recovered. The entire clause must be reassembled from memory after which consideration on what is not required is done away with through ellipsis. This observation suggests that the sluiced sentence is reconstructed with a syntactic structure similar to its non-elided version. This is in line with the coordination rule that coordinated clauses must be of the same type, hence having similar elements, meaning and structure. *omonto* and *ningo* co refer.

(2) below can be presented showing semantic isomorphism. The requirement is that there is relevant semantic information in the antecedent clause that is to some extent identical to that in the lower clause. Darlyampl et al (1991). Merchant (2001) proposed an E-GIVENness condition which has a mutual entailment condition between the antecedent and E-site. In the e-GIVENness approach, neither lexical identity, nor constituent structure matter, so long as e-GIVENness condition is met., this can be demonstrated as in as (2) below:

- (2) a. *Mogeni [vp na-che a-gende e-taaro, [CP [comp korende [POLP ti-manyeti gose ngai*
 b. antecedent clause: $[A] = \lambda x. \text{genda } t(x, \text{etaro})$
 c. sluiced clause: $[E] = \exists x. \text{genda } (x, \text{etaro})$

Since the two representations are identical and therefore entail each other, sluicing succeeds. In semantic analysis of sluices structural identity is not a requirement under the semantic isomorphism approach. The elided material has syntactic structure but this structure does not play directly into the ellipsis condition. It is semantic meaning that licences the sluice based on epistemic knowledge of the speakers. Since it is acknowledged that syntax provides the structure on which semantic application apply, then this is in line with the compositionality principle.

In as much as the semantic approach may seem appealing, it lacks the explanatory power to interpret syntax. It can be noted that mismatch constructions do not posit identical structures for syntax to act upon, neither do data such as (6) and (7) above require only semantic application. It is therefore obvious that the e-GIVEN condition is also not foolproof in sluice interpretation.

Making a case for direct compositionality, Barker, C. & Jacobson, P. (2006) argue that, If the syntax and the semantics of a language work together in tandem then it can be taken to mean that there is direct compositionality. If this slogan is taken to be law it will impose a certain discipline on the syntax, in that, for every syntactic operation there must be a corresponding semantic operation. However, Montague (1974) observed that, nonetheless, directly compositional: each expression has a meaning (and each syntactic rule has a corresponding semantic operation). We can call any theory which relaxes the prohibition against reference to internal structure in the syntax a theory with “weak direct compositionality”

Unfortunately human language is so complex to the extent such an hypothesis cannot be applicable. The immediate consequences to this slogan is that grammar makes no use of interface conditions. The MP demarcation of C-I and S-M make logical sense in that what is computed internally (at the C-I) is externalised at the S-M.

In building a case for two levels of language analysis to be incorporated in sluice analysis, I wish to revisit the statement in the compositionality principle, which states, “that the meaning of an expression is a function of the meanings of its parts and of the way they are syntactically combined, that only in the context of a sentence does a word stand for anything” this is attributed to Frege, (1918). The presupposition is that the objects under consideration in the sentence under analysis are syntactic entities or constructions, that these are “put together” in accordance with syntactic rules of the language. The process of putting together is associated with some function that describes how to employ the meaning to the sentence. In this sense compositionality can be used to segment a syntactic structure based on the meanings of its parts. Compositionality principle is two way in that rather than having to rely on purely syntactic criteria of constituency it allows the use of semantic (pragmatics included) facts to decide between different constituent structures.

Chung’s (2006) generalization that “The numeration of the sluice must be a subset of the numeration of the antecedent” suggests in my view both syntactic and semantic contributions. Syntax will supply the order and semantics the meaning, otherwise how will one ascertain if information in the sluice site entails that in the antecedent. The predicate in the sluice site must have an identical order of arguments as that in the antecedent, this is what aids in recoverability of meaning and interpretation.

The construction of meaning of an expression is an incremental process. Taking the Minimalist merge process, the speaker picks words from the lexicon and forms a numeration from which the elements

will be put together following the verbs sub categorization rule and the context in which it is supposed to be understood. Syntax and semantics interface here.

5.2 Focus and sluices in EkeGusii

If a sluice is interpreted pragmatically, does it mean that we turn a blind eye to syntax and semantics?. Reality is that syntax provides the structure semantics provides the meanings of the elements in the construction and that pragmatics aids in interpretation due to the pragmatic enrichment that occurs in the interpretation process that is required by grammar. By and large, we need to state that language competence of the speaker and audience has a big role to play in the interpretation of such constructions since they are context based. Constructions therefore such as (3a) below though looking at how information structure is packaged and useful in interpretation, its base is syntax and semantics.

In EkeGusii sluiced sentences, only the first clause is focused, this shows that there is an element missing in the second clause. The syntactic rule relating to identity of the antecedent clause and the second clause do not apply uniformly, therefore the semantics of the two clauses are not same as illustrated in (3) below. The focus rule does only allow elements of the first conjunct to be focussed, conjunct two repeats same information found in conjunct one hence the deletion as shown in (3a) below;

- (3a) [Mokeira na-rama omo-nto [korende ti-many-et-i ningo <Mokeira-arama>_E
Mokeira 3psg abuse NC1 person but Neg know tns fv who abuse
“Mokeira abused someone but i don’t know [CP who [TP-Mokeira-abused]]”

This provides a structure such as; [CP ningo [TP.....]] at the ellipsis site. One observation is that both clauses must contain the same tense. (3a) represented as (3b) below will be rendered ill formed as in (3b) below;

- (3b) * Mokeira na-rama omo-nto korende ti-many-et-i ningo ~~Mokeira-a-ko-rama~~
Mokeira 3psg abuse NC1 person but Neg know tns fv who Mokiera 1SG prog abuse
“Mokeira abused someone but i don’t know who Mokiera is abused”

Use of focus on the verbal root *na*-only occurs in conjunct one and is absent in conjunct two which only has 1SG which is in reference to the 1SG in conjunct one. Therefore focus on the two verbal prefixes as in (3c) below too renders the sluice ill formed.

- (3c) * Mokeira ~~na~~-rama omo-nto korende ti-many-et-i ningo ~~Mokeira-na-rama~~

5.3 WH- movement in EkeGusii

I wish to state that WH- movement is not a purely syntactic process. The linearization process obeys the compositionality principle meaning that syntax and semantics act in tandem. As is the debate in ellipsis for and against the presence of overt syntax, analysis on movement in sluices involve two approaches as presented in 1.0 above.

Sluices in Ekegusii do not involve WH- movement as their counterparts in English. They are overtly realised in sentences in which passivisation has occurred. The sluice is formed by epistemic state of the speaker and deletion of the predicate of the second conjunct.

Sluices in EkeGusii do not involve movement, analysis of (4) and (5) below proves the assertion.

- (4a) *Ngai Mogeni a-genda etaro ti-3psg many-et-i korende ~~Mogeni~~ na-genda etaaro*
Where Mogeni 3psg went tour Neg know fv but Mogeni 1psg went tour

Mogeni went for a tour but I don't know where he went for a tour

(Polarity in 4b)

Mogeni na-che a-gende e-taaro, korende ti-manyeti gose ngai ako-gend-a-e-taaro

[CP spec Mogeni na-che [IP a-gende e-taaro, korende [CP ti-manyeti gose ngai [IP
~~ako-gend-a-e-taaro~~.



The wh- extraction of the above sentence results in the structure below,

- (4b) *Ngai Mogeni akogenda etaro timanyeti.t..... korende Mogeni nkogenda are etaro t.....*

- (5a) *Ningo Mokeira a-rama ti-many-et-i korende ~~Mokeira~~ na-rama omo-nto*

Who Mokeira 3psg-abuse Neg-know-fv but she abused someone

Who Mokeira abused I don't know 3psg abused NC1 person but she abused a person

Movement of the wh- word to the initial CP does not license sluicing as shown in (4a) above. The wh-word *ningo* (who) is not a preposition therefore EkeGusii has no preposition stranding.

- (5b) *Monto ki Mokeira a-rama ti-manyet-i korende ~~Mokeira~~ na-rama omonto*
Person which Mokeira 3psg-abused Neg-know-fv but 3psg -pro abused person
Which person Mokeira abused I don't know, but she abused a person

The wh- word is preceded by the object since the grammar of the language cannot allow in this context the wh- word to be in the initial position which will render the construction ungrammatical as in (5c) below.

- (5c) **ki Monto Mokeira a-rama timanyeti korende ~~Mokeira~~ na-rama omonto*

EkeGusii is a head first language so a WH- word can only come after a pronoun or noun with the exception being with quantifiers a in; *kera omonto* 'every person'. This is a type of ellipsis (illustrated in 5c) that occurs in both direct and indirect clauses. This type of ellipsis is introduced by a wh-expression and in most cases all except the wh- expression is elided from the clause. In each sluice an embedded question is understood though only a question word or phrase is pronounced. Sluice

material follows their antecedents in indirect questions. All types of sluices can be discussed under case marking, preposition stranding multiple sluicing and islands. Ross (1967) argued that the sluiced WH-phrase has to have the same case the same as in the un-sluiced conjunct.

The conjuncts in sluicing in EkeGusii are asymmetrical which means interpretation of the two conjuncts rely on language competence. In Minimalism, symmetry is assumed to be a fundamental feature of language. But from the data above ellipsis is licensed by the realization of the insertion of WH- words such as *niingo* (who) *ereri* (which) and *indi* (when) *naki* (how) and *ngo* (who) and not identity with the first predicate.

MacClosky (1995) among others see structure in the internal site of ellipsis. In this approach there is no movement of the WH- remnant, that is is base generated in spec CP and binds a variable in the ellided site in LF. 3a above will be represented as (3a' below):

(3a') *Mokeira na-rama omo-nto [korende ti-many-et-i ningo <Mokeira arama>_E*

The striked through words are identical to those in the upper conjunct meaning that they were copied to the site but deleted since they are redundant and that meaning can be recoverable from the antecedent.

5.4 Agreement and Sluicing

The conjuncts in sluicing in EkeGusii are asymmetrical which means interpretation of the two conjuncts rely on language competence. In Minimalism symmetry is assumed to be a fundamental feature of language. But from the data above ellipsis is licensed by the realization of the sluice *niingo* (who) *ereri* (which) and *indi* (when) and not identity within the first predicate.

However in the sentences (6) and (7) below sluices do not license gaps.

(6) *Onye Onchomba o-kor-ia enyama omw-ana ere ari ki*

If Onchomba 3psg-eat-pres meat NC1-child him eat what

“If Onchomba eats meat what will the child eat ?”

Now that the syntactic identity fails (6) but the sluice is syntactically well formed as proposed by Fiengo and May (1994) among others, we turn to what is referred to as the hybrid theories as in Chung (2013) which in such cases having presence of both syntactic and semantic influences, and by extension pragmatic-syntactic conditions in the sluice.

(7) *Mogaka na-gora gose inki na Mokeira o-gora gose nki?* (Coordination + Sluice)
Mogaka 3sg-tns-buy don't know what and Mokeira 3sg -ns-buy don't know what
“Mogaka bought something unknown what and Mokeira bought something unknown”

The sluice in (7) above is behind the gap so cannot bind it. It is coordination accounting for the gap not the sluice. Coordination is a factor in EkeGusii sluices in that the coherence that makes the gap to occur is licensed comes via coordination. We can make a simple conclusion that if we follow Merchant (2001) approach, sluicing is derived by deletion at the S-I of a fully pronounced TP in which

instead a WH- movement is applied. And that the E-GIVENSS explains the relation between the ellipsis site and the antecedent.

Sentences (6) and (7) further strengthen my case for a dual approach to sluice and ellipsis as a whole along the lines of Chung (2013) which will make interpretation of deleted structures have features from all levels of language count. The isomorphism we assume to exist between syntax and semantics is based on the language user's competence since ellipsis destroys the linear order of syntactic elements. Knowledge of the grammar of language which is innate as per Chomsky (1957) and in line with the minimalist program in which the numeration is drawn from lexicon with their idiosyncratic features and presented to the merge process. Basing my argument on the strong minimalist hypothesis (SMT), what comes out though elliptical is the optimal structure that has been permitted to reach full interpretation.

The identity condition becomes a puzzle in recoverability of meaning based on data (6) and (7) above. While it is argued that deletion is based on the antecedent being identical data shown illustrates something different. Since these are licit formations but do not show any symmetry and yet the sluice occurs. In as much as we may not be accurately able to measure the language speakers' competence and intuitions, there is no any other way to do it but to present the same data to the language speakers for verification of their grammaticality who do not only base their arguments on syntax but all other levels because any utterance must be made and interpreted in some context.

Data (6) and (7) above may fall under what Merchant (1998) since they go against the normal grain of sluices. Though they end with a WH- word they do not involve surface anaphoric relations. This shows that some languages have grammatical mechanisms that they use to present sluices in other ways. Semantically there is some relationship between the Wh- word and the previous information, since the construction is licit; it means that WH- question entails what is previously stated. This is where syntax and semantics act in tandem to give interpretation of such constructions. Who said that language has got one way of presenting a thought?

6.0 Conclusion

I wish to reiterate what I proposed in my earlier statement that the segmentation of language into levels is for academic purposes. When it comes to interpretation of expressions of the same language I believe that all levels of language come together, otherwise what is the rationale of studying syntax or semantics separately as if phonological effects do not affect the outcome of an expression in interpretation and understanding. I thought that theory of language should be able to capture all that is language not part of it, by so doing do we really capture all that is said, no wonder theories we have grapple with explanations that do not fit language in general.

This study exclusively tried to state the case of a compositional approach to sluice interpretation. If we talk of compositional approach that brings together syntax and semantics, then we need a compositional approach of language levels seen to have a part to play in any interpretation. Data analysed clearly shows the need to adjust theory to reality, in that one level of language cannot provide enough explanatory power to interpret a linguistic phenomenon. The definition of sluices as given in literature does not capture some of the forms of sluices which seem to have a deviant structure in EkeGusii. A lot requires to be explored in this area especially a cross linguistic study on sluices from different types of languages.

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A Morphological Sketch of Sanenyo

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ABSTRACT

The paper presents a morphological sketch of Sanenyo (ISO 639-3 crv) /sənɛːnə/ (also called Chaura, or Tutet), spoken by the Chaura people of the Chaura island and is a part of the Nicobarese branch of languages of the Austroasiatic language family and the language status is 6b (Threatened) * . Various morphological characteristics like word formation processes, tense, number and gender agreement, phrasal structures etc. are discussed in the paper for the analysis. All the data used in the paper to describe the morphological characteristics of Sanenyo are first hand data collected from the fieldwork done in Port Blair and Teressa islands with the help of native speakers of the language. The findings mentioned in the paper are part of the ongoing project conducted by Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore under the Scheme for the Protection and Preservation of Endangered Languages (SPPEL). Earlier the work done on the language is limited to the wordlists made by Man (1889) and Rajasingh (2017). No morphological study of the language has been done yet and hence this paper is the first attempt to bring out the morphological sketch of the language.

1. Introduction

The Nicobaric branch is a small and poorly documented branch of the Austroasiatic language family. The earliest sources for the study are the dictionaries and grammars made by Man (1872), Roepstroff (1884), Temple (1903), Whitehead (1925) and some other grammarians like Braine (1970) and Radhakrishnan (1981). However, they mostly talk about only two varieties- *Car* and *Nancowry* and hence the rest of the branch is almost untouched and not studied at all. The rest of the languages/varieties spoken in the Nicobar are primarily constituted of the following six dialects that are also named after the islands where they are spoken:

* Eberhard, David M., Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2019. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Twenty-second edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.

1. Car
2. Chowra
3. Teressa and Bompoka
4. Central(Nancowry, Kamorta, Trinket, Katchall)
5. Southern (Great and Little Nicobar)
6. Shompen (interior of Great Nicobar Island)

It is important to note that one of the earliest remarks made by Temple (1903), as quoted in the *Linguistic Survey of India* (1906: Vol. 4, pp. 15) that ‘the Nicobarese speak one language in six dialects so different as to be mutually unintelligible. These six dialects are, from North to South, *Car-Nicobar*, *Chowra*, *Teresa*, *Central*, *Southern* and *Shom Pen*.’ Earlier the Nicobaric languages (also referred as Nicobarese) were considered to be the part of the *Shompen* language (Blench & Sidwell, 2011) and seen as a distinct branch of Austroasiatic but were later dismissed placing *Shompen* alone as a South Nicobaric language (Sidwell, 2017). The conclusion drawn was that *Car* was the northern most language, *Shompen* was the southernmost, and the rest rather form a central chain of dialects dominated by *Nancowry* or *Muot*. Another important classification was done by Lawrence Reid (1994) who while using morphological evidences commented that Nicobarese had strong similarities with both Austroasiatic and Austronesian group of languages and is a ‘conservative “relic” language’. The existing typological study and research on Nicobaric languages are not conclusive enough to see it as a separate branch, thus placing it under the Mon Khmer branch of the Austroasiatic family as it shares the geographical and some typological features with other Mon Khmer languages. Diffloth (1974) modified the Pinnow model by introducing three families- Munda, Mon-Khmer and Nicobarese where the Mon-Khmer family was later sub divided based on the ‘lexicostatistical’ findings of Thomas and Headly in 1970. However, Diffloth (1974) himself merged the Nicobarese into Mon-Khmer with Aslian as its sister and later promoted ‘Khasi-Palaungic-Khomic’ as the third family (Sidwell, 2010). Among all the languages spoken in the Nicobar Islands, *Car Nicobar/ Pu* and *Muot* (spoken in Central Nicobar) are the only ones that have been properly documented. Chattopadhyay & Mukhopadhyay (2003) has about 780 words of Shompen language and Blench & Sidwell (2011) presented a paper “Is Shompen a distinct Branch of Austroasiatic?” in the fourth International Conference on Austroasiatic Linguistics (ICAAL). However, no proper documentation of the language has so far been done yet. Nicobari has developed a writing system known as Nicobari script using Roman alphabets and have dictionaries made by Whitehead (1925) and Man (1889) respectively. In recent times, Das (1977) has done work on phonology and lexicon of Nicobari while Rajasingh (2017) has worked on Muot as part of the Andaman commissioned project with CIIL, Mysore in which he has mentioned the phonology, morpho-syntactic aspects of the language along with a dictionary. Thus it is evident that the languages of the Nicobaric branch are in dire need of proper documentation and description for comparative and typological understanding of the same which will also allow a definite classification and categorization of the branch using solid data and findings.

2. Word formation Processes

The language under the study shows productive usage of compounding and derivation processes (derived nouns and verbs). The major morphological processes involved in the word formation are Derivation (Prefixation, Suffixation, Infixation, and Circumfixation), Compounding, Clipping and Borrowing. Sanenyo is mostly isolating (or analytic) in nature, lacking any variation of words to refer to different grammatical categories.

2.1 Derivation using Affixation

- **Prefixes:** Common prefixes used in the languages are /tə-/ , /hət/, / hē:/, /jəm/

[tə-kui] ‘on’	[tə-] ‘OBJ’ + [kui] ‘head/high’
[tə-kəruɲi] ‘building’	[tə-] ‘OBJ’ + [-kəru-] ‘big’ + [-ɲi] ‘house’
[hət-son] ‘blunt’	[hət-] ‘NEG’ + [son] ‘sharp’
[hət-lo] ‘ugly’	[hət-] ‘NEG’ + [-lo] ‘beautiful’
[hət-lukənʔkɛ:wə] ‘hard’	[hət-] ‘NEG’ + [lukənʔkɛ:wə] ‘soft’
[hət-lo ðe] ‘odour’	[hət-] ‘NEG’ + [-lo] ‘good’ + [ðe] ‘smell’
[hət-rəmoh] ‘lazy’	[hət-] ‘NEG’ + [-rəmoh] ‘active’
[hē:-hiɲ] ‘sunny’	[hē:] ‘CONT’ + [hiɲ] ‘sun’
[hē:-əmiʔ] ‘rainy’	[hē:] ‘CONT’ + [əmiʔ] ‘rain’
[jəm-wɛt] ‘blacksmith’	[jəm] ‘a person skilled in creating something with a specified material’ + [wɛt] ‘iron’
[jəm-humlum̃] ‘goldsmith’	[jəm] ‘a person skilled in creating something with a specified material’ + [humlum̃] ‘gold’
[ə-pənam] ‘centre area of a village’	[ə-] + [pənam] ‘village’

- **Infixes:** Common infixes found in the language are /-mu-/ , /-n-/ , /-e-/ , /-m-/

-mu-	[kəmpuɾɔt] ‘weaver’	[kənpɾɔt] ‘weave’
-n-	[səkiʔhənleɪh] ‘to cry thinking about something’	[həle:ʔ] ‘cry’
	[həniəɲwan] ‘Monday’	[hiəɲ] ‘one’
	[rənoic̥] ‘third’	[rəoiç] ‘three’
-e-	[le:hejɔk] ‘scalp’	[leɪh] ‘leg’ + [-e-] + [jɔk] ‘root of hair’
-m-	[ɲiməɲsɔɲ] ‘kitchen’	[ɲi] ‘house’ + [-m-] + [əɲsɔɲ] ‘cook’

- **Suffixes:** Common suffixes found in the language are [-wan], [-hupul], [-alə], [-leɪh]

[-wan]	[həniəɲ-wan] ‘Monday’	[hiəɲ] ‘one’ + [-wan]
	[rənuic-wan] ‘Wednesday’	[ruic] ‘three’ + [-wan]
[-hupul]	[ɲi-hupul] ‘hut’	[ɲi-] ‘house’ + [-hupul]
[-alə]	[ɲi-alə] ‘nicobari hut’	[ɲi-] ‘house’ + [-alə]
[-leɪh]	[ɔl-leɪh] ‘sole’	[ɔl] ‘on’ + [leɪh] ‘leg’

- **Circumfixes:** The data collected till now only one case of circumfixes using [ə-...-sirɛ]

[əhɛ:ɲsirɛ] 'listen'	[hɛ:əŋ] 'hear'
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The language also shows some examples of Deriving Nouns which are mentioned below.

- Noun from Verb

- 1) [həkɲɔ̃k] 'food' < [əkɲɔ̃k] 'eat'
- 2) [kəmɔpɛ:ʔ] 'dead body' < [kɔpɛ:ʔ] 'die'
- 3) [məhəkəp̄həʔə] 'teacher' < [məhəkəp̄həʔə] 'teach'
- 4) [kəmupət̚] 'weaver' < [kənpət̚ʔ] 'weave'

2.2 Compounding:

Compounding in Sanenyo is observed to be the most productive form of word formation process.

- **ENDOCENTRIC COMPOUNDING**

- 5) [cukʔmisɔ] 'bathroom' < [cuk] 'room' + [misɔ] 'toilet'
- 6) [əmoh- mukhok̄] 'beak' < [əmoh] 'nose' + [mukhok̄] 'bird'
- 7) [ræ uwɛ:uʔ] 'coconut leaf' < [ræ] 'leaf' + [uwɛ:uʔ] 'coconut'
- 8) [ræ hi̯pu] 'banana leaf' < [ræ] 'leaf' + [hi̯pu] 'banana'
- 9) [caʔni] 'door' < [caʔ] 'face/front' + [ni] 'house'
- 10) [luiŋ hɛok̄] 'curly hair' < [luiŋ] 'curly' + [hɛok̄] 'hair'

- **EXOCENTRIC COMPOUNDING**

- 11) [lɛ:hejɔk] 'scalp' < [lɛh] 'leg' + [jɔk] 'root of hair'
- 12) [ɔl lɛh] 'sole' < [ɔl] 'land' + [lɛh] 'leg'
- 13) [ok-kui] 'back of head' < [ok] 'back' + [kui] 'head'
- 14) [puhɛ:ɔl əmɑ̃t̚] 'eyelash' < [puhɛ:-] + [ɔl] 'on' + [əmɑ̃t̚] 'eyes'
- 15) [puhɛ:ɔl ukəmət̚] 'eyebrow' < [puhɛ:-] + [ɔl] 'on' + [uk] 'back' + [əmət̚] 'eyes'
- 16) [caʔinluiŋ] 'shoulder cap' < [caʔ] 'front' + [inluiŋ] 'axe'

Apart from the above cited examples, other examples of compounding using Noun and Verb or Adjective are also present in the language as in the given examples:

- **Noun and Verb**

- 17) [cukʔmi̯t̚ɔk] 'bedroom' < [cuk] 'room' + [-m-] + [i̯t̚ɔk] 'sleep'
- 18) [rakt̚wɔ] 'river' < [rak] 'water' + [-t̚wɔ] + [wɔ] 'flow'
- 19) [niməŋsɔŋ] 'kitchen' < [ni] 'house' + [-m-] + [əŋsɔŋ] 'cook'

- **Verb and Noun**

- 20) [həthərə əmɑ̃t̚] 'blind' < [həth] 'NEG' + [hərə] 'see' + [əmət̚] 'eyes'
- 21) [t̚t̚hɛəŋ ənəŋ] 'deaf' < [t̚t̚] 'NEG' + [hɛəŋ] 'hear' + [ənəŋ] 'ear'
- 22) [həkəp̄ŋəʔt̚əɔɛ] 'remember' < [həkəp̄] 'read' + [-ŋə] + [-t̚əɔ-] 'sibling' + [-rɛ]
- 23) [həli:əp̄rɛ] 'learn' < [hə-] + [li:əp̄rɛ] 'book'

- **Noun and Adjective**

- 24) [t̚ləh] 'big toe' < [t̚lə] 'big' + [ləh] 'leg'
- 25) [t̚lənoɛ] 'thumb' < [t̚lə] 'big' + [noɛ] 'fingers'
- 26) [məhləh] 'smallest toe' < [məh] 'small' + [ləh] 'leg'
- 27) [uhinoɛ] 'gap between fingers' < [uhi] 'gap' + [noɛ] 'fingers'

Antonymic adjectives are also formed using the unmarked, neutral adjective and using it as the derivational base to form the other pair, after prefixing the negative marker [həʔ].

- 28) [həʔlo] 'ugly' [3rd person] < [həʔ] 'NEG' + [lo] 'beautiful'
- 29) [həʔlukənʔkɛ:wə] 'hard' < [[həʔ] 'NEG' + [lukənʔkɛ:wə] 'soft'

- 30) [həŋlo ðɛ] ‘odour’ < [həŋ-] ‘NEG’ + [-lo] ‘good’ + [ðɛ] ‘smell’
 31) [həŋ-rəmɔh] ‘lazy’ < [həŋ-] ‘NEG’ + [-rəmɔh] ‘active’

• Verb and Noun together also form Adjectives using **negation**.

- 32) [həŋhərə ʌmɑŋ] ‘blind’ < [həŋ] ‘NEG’ + [hərə] ‘see’ + [ʌmɑŋ] ‘eyes’
 33) [təŋhəŋ ʌnɑŋ] ‘deaf’ < [təŋ] ‘NEG’ + [həŋ] ‘hear’ + [ʌnɑŋ] ‘ear’

2.3 Clipping

- 34) [jeiçɑ] → [jeiç] ‘ask’
 35) [tʌl-ŋə] → [tʌl] ‘run’
 36) [jəh-nə] → [jəh] ‘and’
 37) [it-pəiçhərə] → [pəiçhərə] ‘sit’

2.4 Borrowing

- 38) [ciŋri] < Hindi [ciŋri] ‘letter’
 39) [birik] < English [brɪk] ‘brick’
 40) [sɑl] < English [sɔ:lt] ‘salt’
 41) [dʊd] < Hindi [dʊdʰ] ‘milk’
 42) [cəŋrai] < Hindi [cətai] ‘mat’
 43) [dʌl] < Hindi [dʌl] ‘lentils’

3. Word order

The basic word order of the language is Verb-initial and subject final, although it is not strictly fixed.

- 44) *həm hiɸu ən sita*
 eat banana NOM PN
 ‘Sita eats a banana.’
 45) *həɸ suɸ ən məhe:ɔ*
 play ball NOM boy
 ‘The boy is playing with a ball.’

In (44) and (45) the verb comes at the initial position of the sentence while in example (46) the verb comes before the object and the subject occurs before the verb. This kind of movement is allowed in the language, especially in running speech or during narrations. The aspect marker in Sanenyo comes at the initial position as a free morpheme.

- 46) *lɛɸ ən məhe:ɔ ɛŋ həm hiɸu*
 PFV NOM boy PST eat banana
 ‘The boy had eaten banana.’

4. Phrasal structures

4.1 Adjective Phrase

The adjectives are attributive in nature preceding the noun category and sometimes a relative marker /ca/ is placed between the adjective and noun along with the indicative marker /ən/ to modify the noun. The indicative marker is optional and can be dropped in running speech, that is, the omission of the morpheme /ən/ will not make ungrammatical. Thus both (47) and (48) are acceptable.

- 47) *təmawu ca ən kəɸɛɸ neəɸ*
 intelligent REL IND child this
 ‘This is an intelligent child’
 48) *təmawu ca kəɸɛɸ neəɸ*
 intelligent REL child this

‘This is an intelligent child’

Gradable adjectives are constructed using morphemes like /*kəru*/ ‘big, more’, /*fulɲə*/ ‘very’ where the adverbs are placed before the adjectives. Sanenyo adjectives also follow the classifiers; however, the indicative marker is placed between the classifier and the adjective for emphasis.

- 49) *roic -tək ən tə-mihoe li:pare*
 three-CL IND OBJ –thin paper
 ‘three thin sheets of paper’

Adjectives like ‘big’, ‘small’ or ‘many’ can also follow the numerals to provide emphasis on the amount or shape/size of the head noun.

- 50) *tə -hiəɲ pamiɛc situn*
 OBJ -one **small** bottle
 ‘one **small** bottle’

4.2 Adverbial Phrase

Sanenyo adverbs usually come before the verb with the presence of nominal particle between the adverbial and verbal phrase and the adverbs are placed at the initial position of the sentence. The same pattern is observed in adverbs of time or attitude where they are placed at the initial position of the sentence which may or may not be followed by the main verb.

- 51) *hətriic re nə sut*
everyday play 3SG ball
 ‘He plays football every day.’

- 52) *heʔə ən mɔ̃ rik*
surely NOM 2SG come
 ‘You will surely come.’

Time adverbial precedes Place adverbials,

- 53) *tə -ri:əiə ufe ən kəʔɛt ujɔhəre ka park*
 OBJ -**evening** PL NOM child play IND park
 ‘In the evening, the children play in the park.’

4.3 Noun Phrase

Sanenyo is primarily head-initial language placing the modifiers after the categories they modify. Being right branching, the syntactic structure of complement phrase (which has a comparatively more complex internal structure and is a branching category) occurs right of the non-branching nominal category (Whaley 1996:91).

- 54) *ka məhe:ɔ wəhe tə diarrhoea lɛt lɛtɛn ənɾə kaɪ*
 IND boy yesterday OBJ *sinpõic* PFV well now EXP
 ‘The boy who had fever yesterday is well now.’

The clauses, however, do not use an overt relative marker or a complementizer but do express head – initial **participial/adjectival clause constructions** where the adjectives are usually attributive preceding the nouns in simple sentences where the indicative marker is optional.

- 55) *pəmaje ən kəʔɛt*
 shy IND child
 ‘shy child’

However, the adjectives can both precede as in (56) or follow as in (57) where both the adjectives ‘shy’ and ‘intelligent’ the head noun.

56) *pəmaje ufe ka kəʔɛt en tɛmawu jəhnə*
 shy PL IND child 3SG intelligent and
 ‘Her children are shy and intelligent.’

57) *ufe ka kəʔɛt en pəmaje jəhnə tɛmawu*
 PL IND child 3SG shy and intelligent
 ‘Her children are beautiful and intelligent.’

Genitive constructions are head initial and no separate marking is observed with the possessor-possessee relationship shown using the word order itself.

58) *təʔ -ram*
 mother -ram
 ‘Ram’s mother’

59) *li:pəre cə*
 book 1SG
 ‘My book’

There is also optional marking using morphemes /təka/ (for –visible) and /tən/ (for +visible) can be used before the pronominal to emphasize the alienable possession such as in (60) and (61).

60) *hiəŋ ka kən həi:əm təkə təʔ -cə*
 one IND female hen POSS mother -1SG
 ‘My mother has one hen.’

61) *roic -ca ka ufe kunrəpə tən cə*
 three -CL IND PL shoe POSS 1SG
 ‘I have three shoes.’

4.4 Verb Phrase

Verb Phrases are generally head-initial followed by a dependent phrase. It is quite plausible that the helping verb has lost its verbal character and became grammaticalized as an aspect marker as in (63). *Sanenyo* places this helping verb-turned-aspect marker before the main verb, usually placed at the sentence initial position and object and subject can interchange their position based on the speaker’s discretion to show focus.

62) *həjɔ sut ən məhe:ɔ*
 play ball NOM boy
 ‘The boy is playing with a ball.’

63) *lət həjɔ suʔ ən məhe:ɔ ɛŋ*
 PFV play ball NOM boy PST
 ‘The boy had played with a ball.’

5. Agreement system

5.1 Tense Agreement

The language lacks morphological marking of present tense while the past and future tense are necessarily marked.

a. Simple Present tense

64) *əkɛɔk ən ram*
 eat NOM PN
 ‘Ram eats.’

b. Simple Past tense

- 65) *əkɪɔk ən ram ɛɪ*
 eat NOM PN PST
 'Ram ate.'

c. Simple Future tense

- 66) *əkɪɔk ən ram mɔɔ*
 eat NOM PN FUT
 'Ram will eat.'

5.2 Number agreement

Sanenyo also has three numbers: **singular, dual and plural** where it has separate morphemes only for dual and plural marking with no change in verb forms with a change in number.

a. Singular

- 67) *əkɪɔk ən məhɛ:o*
 eat NOM boy
 'The boy eats.'

b. Dual

- 68) *əkɪɔk unə ən məhɛ:o*
 eat DU NOM boy
 'The boys(two) eat.'

c. Plural

- 69) *əkɪɔk ufɛ ən məhɛ:o*
 eat PL NOM boy
 'The boys eat.'

5.3 Gender agreement

Gender agreement is also not found in the language. However the morphemes [koɪɪ] for male and [kɑ:n] for female are used in order to differentiate natural genders of the nouns using compounding. Lexically, [koɪɪ] means husband and [kɑ:n] means wife.

- 70) [koɪɪ həi:əm] 'cock' [kɑ:n həi:əm] 'hen'
 71) [koɪɪ kɛ:ɪɪ] 'male monkey' [kɑ:n kɛ:ɪɪ] 'female monkey'

Sanenyo does have morphemes for 'boy' [məhɛ:o] and 'girl' [huliə] and these are also used to differentiate for gender in [+human].

- 72) [kəʔɛ:ɪ ən məhɛ:o] 'boy child'
 73) [kəʔɛ:ɪ ən huliə] 'girl child'

6. Pronominal system

Sanenyo also has an exhaustive system of Pronominal with first, second and third person marking along with singular, dual and plural forms.

	1	2	3
SG	<i>cəʔ</i>	<i>ciɔai ~ ciɔ</i>	<i>cuɔu ~ cuɔ</i>

DU	<i>mẽ</i>	<i>inə</i>	<i>i:hε</i>
PL	<i>en</i>	<i>unə</i>	<i>ufε</i>

Table 1: Pronominal system of Sanenyo

The language is partially pro-drop where the pronominal can be dropped in third person.

74) *ʃicŋə cə kaɬ*
 hungry 1SG EXP
 ‘I am hungry.’

75) *ʃicŋə kaɬ*
 hungry EXP
 ‘He is hungry.’

76) *ʃicŋə ufε kaɬ*
 hungry PL EXP
 ‘They are hungry.’

The language uses a separate morpheme /**hĩ**/ to show inclusiveness thus lacking distinct pronominal forms- which is added before the pronouns or before the verb in case of dropping of the pronominal. For showing honorific/non-honorific, visible/non-visible, intimacy, politeness or any other social values, we see the addition of morphemes to signal those values without any change in the pronominal morphemes.

The demonstrative pronouns are /*neəʔ*/ ‘this’ and /*anə*/ ‘that’ and is placed after the head noun.

77) *məhε:o neəʔ jəhnə huliã anə*
 boy **this** and girl **that**
 ‘This is a boy and that is a girl.’

The language does not have any dual or plural demonstratives and change in number is denoted by adding the number marker before the head noun.

The reflexive pronoun /*ɬənre*/ for the first person and third person and /*ɬənme*/ for the second person follows the personal pronoun.

78) *luʔtao en ɬənre*
 like 3SG REFL
 ‘He likes himself.’

As stated earlier the third person singular/plural pronouns can be dropped and simply the DU/PL markers for respective number can be used instead, followed by the reflexive pronoun.

79) *luʔtao unə ɬənre*
 like DU REFL
 ‘They (two people) like themselves.’

80) *luʔtao ufε ɬənre*
 like PL REFL
 ‘They like themselves.’

The reciprocal pronoun is /*ɬəŋ hiəŋ*/ which follow dual marker as shown in (83).

- 81) *luʔtao unə ʔən hiəŋ*
 like DU eachother
 'They like each other.'

Interrogative pronouns are /*kun*----*kəʔ*/ in case of the second person, dual (2DU) and second person, plural (2PL)

• [*inə-kəʔ-ən*]:

- 82) *kun lɛʔ əkɛʔk inə-kəʔ-ən*
 Q PFV eat 2DL-Q -IND
 'Did you two eat?'

• [*i:hɛ-kəʔ-ən*]:

- 83) *kun lɛʔ əkɛʔk i:hɛ-kəʔ-ən*
 Q PFV eat 2PL-Q -IND
 'Did you three eat?'

7. Negative constructions

In *Sanenyo*, negation is observed to be pre-verbal and exhibit a prohibitive marker used for prohibition.

- 84) *waʔ mə ɛ:re*
 PROH 2SG go
 'You may not go.'
- 85) *waʔ mə jətni*
 PROH 2SG outside
 'Do not go outside.'

The language explicates a separate negation marker which is suffixed to the pronominal category occurring at the initial position of the sentence.

- 86) *ciʔ -məh cu:*
 1P.SG NEG go
 'I will not go.'
- 87) *ciʔ -məh hɛ:o lipare sita*
 1P.SG NEG give book PN
 'I will not give the book to sita.'
- 88) *məʔ -məh cu:*
 2P.SG NEG go
 'You will not go.'
- 89) *həʔ -məh cu:*
 3P.SG NEG go
 'He will not go.'

The negation of noun class is done in the same manner as the verb class, i.e., by adding the negative particle before the noun.

- 90) *siŋrol ʔən kəp̃ə*
 horn POSS cow
 'Cow has horn.'

91) *həŋ siŋrol tən kəpɔ̃*

NEG horn POSS cow

‘Cow does not have horn.’

8. Interrogative constructions

Sanenyo places question particle at sentence initial position along with using intonation to frame interrogative sentences. The following table shows various types of interrogative particles present in the language used in various situations:

Time	/kuhɛ/ ‘when’				
92.	<i>kuhɛ</i>	<i>mã</i>	<i>rɜk</i>		
	when	2SG	come		
	‘When will you come?’				
Place	/acʔcu/ ‘where’				
93.	<i>acʔcu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ɲi</i>	<i>mə</i>	
	where	IND	house	2SG	
	‘Where is your house?’				
Thing	/ku/, /cin/ ‘what’ , /acʔcu/ ‘which’				
94.	<i>cin</i>	<i>liəŋ</i>	<i>mẽ</i>		
	what	name	2SG		
	‘What is your name?’				
95.	<i>ku</i>	<i>ɛ:rəŋ</i>	<i>həm</i>	<i>mẽ</i>	
	what	want	eat	2SG	
	‘What do you want to eat?’				
96.	<i>acʔcu</i>	<i>cuk</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ɲi</i>	<i>mə</i>
	which	room	IND	house	2SG
	‘Which is your house?’				
Reason	/kunse/ ‘why’				
97.	<i>kunse</i>	<i>nə</i>	<i>rɜi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>wəməcare</i>
	why	3SG	leave	IND	job
	‘Why did she leave the job?’				
Person	/ci/ ~ /cika/ ‘who’ , /ciɥə/ ‘whom’ , /cun/ ‘which’				

98.	<i>ci</i>	<i>anə</i>				
	who	that				
	‘Who is that?’					
99.	<i>ciṭə</i>	<i>ŋop</i>	<i>ṭənme</i>			
	whom	like	2SG			
	‘Whom do you like?’					
Process	/kah sen/ ~ /kase/ ‘how’					
100.	<i>kahsen</i>	<i>εŋ</i>	<i>nə</i>	<i>ṭũhsi</i>	<i>ram</i>	
	how	PST	3SG	fall	PN	
	‘How did Ram fell?’					
Quantity	/kah rise/ ‘how much’					
101.	<i>kahrise</i>	<i>ṭənəŋəse</i>	<i>ən</i>	<i>ram</i>	<i>ṭə</i>	<i>rupijə</i>
	how.much	get	NOM	PN	OBJ	money
	‘How much money Ram get?’					

Table 2: Question Particles in Sanenyo

Sanenyo also has both positive / *həʔ*/ and negative /*həiʔ*/ tag questions but does not have any polar question particle.

9. Imperative constructions

Imperatives in Sanenyo are formed as simple statements following the verb-subject order with or without the addressee overtly expressed. Intimate or honorific forms are also marked using separate morphemes.

- 102) *ε:re mǎ*
go 2SG
‘Go(order)’

But while addressing an elder person, /*roh mǎ ε:re*/ is used while in case of intimate forms the morpheme /*huləŋ*/ ‘friend’ follows the verb /*ε:re*/ and for addressing younger, /*ε:re mǎsu*/ is used. Orders can be softened using the morpheme /*hukuləse*/ ‘please’. The first person imperatives are

referred by using /haʔ/ for DUAL and /hĩ/ for the PLURAL which is followed by the verb.

- 103) **haʔ** *ɛ:re*
 INCL.DU go
 ‘Let’s go.’
- 104) **hĩ** *ɛ:re*
 INCL.PL go
 ‘Let’s go.’

10. Conclusion

To begin with, both the languages show comprehensive use of word-formation processes like Compounding, Clipping, Borrowing and Derivation. *Sanenyo* is observed to have quite low morpheme-per-word ratio with bare minimum inflections and thus can be considered as an isolating (or analytic) language. However, the language contains many polymorphemic words due to the presence of derivational morphemes. *Sanenyo* has a VOS word order that is flexible in case of running speech/narrations. Often the aspect marker in *Sanenyo* (if present) occurs strictly at sentence initial position.

The language is primarily head-initial as observed in different phrasal constructions with head occurring before the dependents and modifying the same, except for cases like adjectival constructions in which the adjectives can occur both before and after the noun for pragmatic purposes. In addition, the language is consistently right branching where all the branching categories are placed after the non-branching categories like the complement phrase following the noun phrase etc...Genitives are not marked and often in *Sanenyo*, the difference between the alienable and inalienable possessive constructions is optionally marked by using separate morphemes.

In the case of adverbial constructions in *Sanenyo*, time adverb precedes place adverb and there is a possibility that the aspect markers are essentially the grammaticalized helping verbs occurring at sentence initial position. The language does not mark the present tense and there is no inflection observed in the language with respect to tense and aspect agreement. The language has all three person and number and no overt gender system and again no inflection is seen with respect to person, number and gender agreement.

The pronominal category has a separate morpheme to show inclusiveness and for showing honorific, visibility, intimacy, politeness etc. we see addition of morphemes with no change in the pronominal morphemes, along with demonstrative, reflexive and interrogative pronouns(only in the second person).

Negation is pre-verbal and pre-nominal. In addition, *Sanenyo* also exhibits separate negative pronominal for different numbers. In the case of interrogative constructions, question particles are placed at sentence initial position and forms tag questions. Imperatives also follow the basic word order of verb-subject with separate morphemes to show honorific/intimate constructions.

The work has attempted to bring in newer insights into our understanding of the structure of Nicobaric languages and it may prove to be valuable for future research in the field. However, a lot of work still needs to be done. The morphological study of the language when compared to other languages of the Mon-Khmer branch will show the lack of proper findings which has constrained the linguistic researchers to study both the discrepancy and the preservation of proto-Mon-Khmer structures (if any). Thus, it becomes difficult to bring out proper typological profiling of the branch. The author hopes to fill out any gaps or lack of findings to bring out more exhaustive and comprehensive description of the language in near future.

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A Semantic Interpretation of Bangla Numeral Classifier ‘ta’

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the Bangla classifiers ‘-ta’. It is mainly a Numeral classifier. Numeral classifiers are the most commonly recognized type of classifier system. In Bangla we identify ‘-ta/to/te’, ‘-jon’, ‘-k^hana/k^hani’, ‘-gac^ha/gac^hi’ etc. as numeral classifiers. They appear adjoining to numerals in numeral noun phrases and expression of quantity. The main goal of my work is to identify the semantic nature of definiteness of the Bangla Numeral classifiers, specially ‘-ta’ and the interactive nature between semantic and syntactic properties on ‘-ta’. To describe the structure, I follow the three layered DP structure which modeled by Dr. Tanmoy Bhattacharya. According to Dr. Veneeta Dayal and Tanmoy Bhattacharya, I interpret the syntax and describe the definiteness of Bangla Numeral Classifier. Then my effort was to find out the semantic nature of definiteness of Bangla Numeral Classifier ‘-ta’ by λ calculus and finally I have tried to find out the interface between Syntax and Semantics.

1. Introducing Numeral Classifiers

The most commonly recognized type of classifier system is Numeral classifiers. They come adjacent to numerals in numeral noun phrases and expresses quantity. Numeral classifiers do not have to come on any constituent outside the numeral NP: thus, there is no agreement in numeral classifier between the noun and another constituent. In the book ‘Classifier: A Typology of Noun Categorization Devices’, Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald denotes that numeral classifier have three contingent properties.

- a) The choice of a numeral classifier is predominantly semantic.
- b) Numeral classifier systems differ in the extent to which they are grammaticalized. Numeral classifier can be an open lexical class.
- c) In some numeral classifiers languages not every noun can be associated with a numeral classifier. Some nouns take no classifier at all; other nouns may have alternative choices of classifier, depending on which property of the noun is in focus.

The range of semantic oppositions employed in numeral classifiers varies; it most often involves animacy, shape, size, and structure.

In this paper I describe only the Bangla numeral classifiers. Bangla (Bengali) is a South Asian

language, belongs to Indo-Aryan language family, spoken in parts of India and in Bangladesh. Unlike many other South Asian languages, Bangla has a rich classifier system. Masica (1976) in his book ‘‘Defining a linguistic Area: South East Asia’’ says:

‘THE USE OF NUMERAL CLASSIFIER OR ‘COUNTER WORDS’... LINK CERTAIN LANGUAGES MAINLY ON THE EASTERN SIDE OF THE INDIA WITH THE LANGUAGES OF EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA. IN THIS CASE, THE FEATURES IN THE INDIAN LANGUAGES CONCERNED ARE MARGINAL INSTANCES OF A PHENOMENON THAT SEEMS CLEARLY TO HAVE ITS CENTER IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.’

According to Masica’s book, the classifier system of Bengali is not canonically associated with languages of South Asia. It is noticed that not only Bengali there are many languages in the region, from different language families where classifier attested.

Sutradhar (2006) lists a number of such languages, from different language families. From Indo-Aryan: Bangla (a.k.a. Bengali), Asamiya (a.k.a. Assamese), Oriya, Bihari, Nepali, Sinhala. From Dravidian: Malto, kolami, Parji, Kui-kuwi, Kurux. If we see other languages family like Tibeto-Burman or Astro-Asiatic, we established that classifiers are well attested in South Asia.

Among the all type of classifier, there are a lot of numeral classifiers in the Bengali language. Some of them have a more restricted use. The following list shows the range of classifiers attested in the language.

Classifier	Usage	Examples
-ta/to/te	General classifier	ek-ta/du-to/tin-te
-jon	Classifier restricted to humans	car-jon lok
-k^hana	Classifier restricted to inanimate count nouns. It is used by preference to specialize objects of rectangular or flat form or objects which have a frame work.	Boi-k ^h ana/ kapor-k ^h ana
-k^hani	Classifier restricted to mass noun	æto-k ^h ani k ^h abor
-gac^ha/gac^hi	Classifier restricted to thin and long objects.	ek-gac ^h a la ^h i

Table 1: The numeral classifiers in the Bengali language & their range

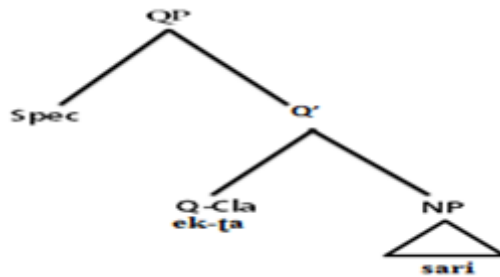
Bangla treats discrete entities like students/books and liquid objects like tea, in that neither can be counted directly. The noun does not form whether the numeral is singular or plural. Bangla does not show the typical mass-count distinction characteristics of number marking languages.

2. Research Objectives

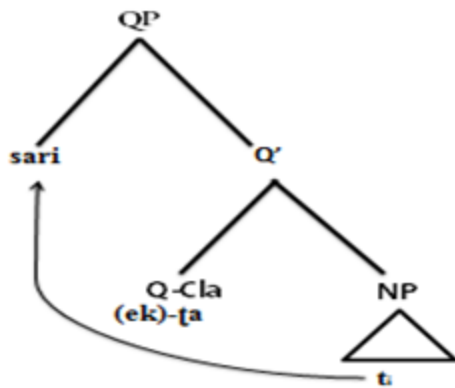
In this paper I focus on only Bangla Numeral Classifier and start by discussing the basics of Bangla numeral classifier system. Bangla has a set of numeral classifier. Bangla Numeral classifiers (-ta, -khana, -khani etc.) generally appear between the numeral and the noun (e.g. ek-ta boi ‘one-Cla book’). The numeral classifier combination precedes the noun phrase in the base word order [Num-Cla-NP], shown in (1). The numeral-classifier combination follows the NP in an alternative order [NP (Num-)

Cla], as in (2). This is exemplified below:

1. *ek-ṭa sari*
One-cla sari
'A sari'



2. *sari-ṭa*
Sari-Cla
'the sari'

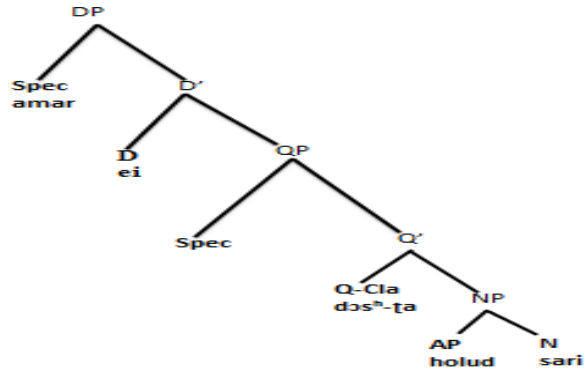


Compositional semantic theories assume that the syntax and semantics works in parallel. For each phrase structure rule that combines two expressions into a larger phrase, there is a corresponding semantic rule which combines the meaning of the parts into the meaning of the newly formed expression. So I follow this theory. I want to prove that how syntax and semantics involves in two form 'ek-ṭa boi' and 'boi-ṭa' and create two different interpretation of 'ṭa'.

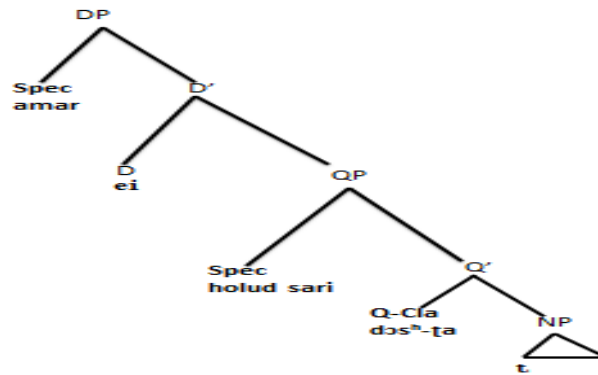
3. Definiteness & Bangla Numeral Classifiers

Tanmoy Bhattacharya discusses about the word order inside the Bangla DP in his book 'the structure of the Bangla DP'. According to him, the Bangla DP consists of four distinct units as shown in 3. Notice that numeral-classifier and adjective-noun are like independent units, although the word order is relatively free. To keep the account easy to follow, I will present all the phrases that have the same meaning.

- 3a. [Poss] [Dem] [Num-Cla] [Adj N]
amar ei dṣṣḥ-ṭa holud sari
 my this 10-CLA yellow sari



- b. [Poss] [Dem] [Adj N] [Num-Cla]
amar ei holud sari dɔsʰ-ta
 my this yellow sari 10-Cla



- c. [Num-Cla] [Adj N] [Dem] [Poss]
dɔsʰ-ta holud sari ei amar
 10-Cla yellow sari this my

- d.? [Num-Cla] [Dem] [Adj N] [Poss]
dɔsʰ-ta ei holud sari amar
 10-Cla this yellow sari my

- e.* Num-Dem-Cla Adj N Poss
dɔsʰ-ei-ta holud sari amar
 10-this-Cla Yellow sari my

There are more (im) possible orders but this is enough to show that there is enough freedom of movement as long as Poss, Dem, Num-Cla, Adj-N form four separate units. But we have also seen that Num-Cla units are interrupted by the Dem are unacceptable. It is also significant that Bhattacharya consider numerals as quantifiers because it occurred at the same position but can never co-occur. Here one thing is also being noted that most of the examples so far have avoided the use of the numeral 'one'. Consider the following:

4a. *ek-ta sari*
 one-Cla sari
 'A/one sari'

b. *sari-ta*
 sari-Cla
 'The sari'

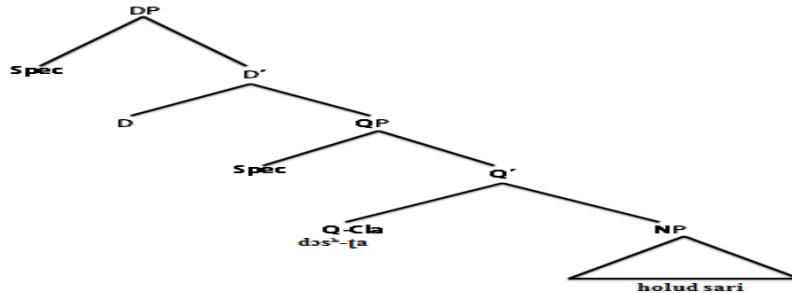
c. # *sari ek-ta*
 sari one-Cla

The above data shows that (b) is the more specific rather than (a). In (b) 'ta' also produce a definite

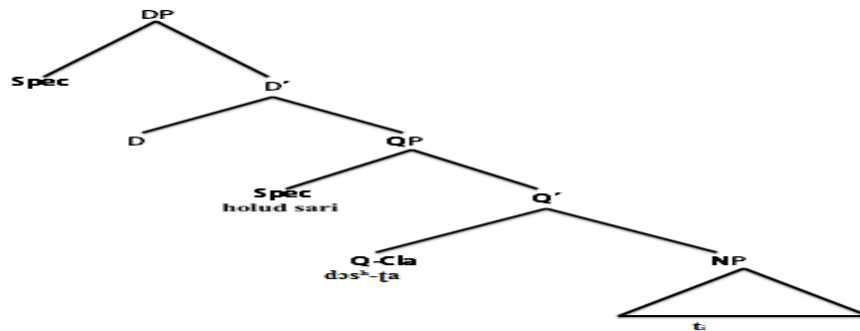
reading.

From Bhattacharya we get two relevant orders of Numeral+Classifier, One is the order in which the Numeral+Classifier occurs before the noun(4a): **Num Cla NP**, the other is the order in which the Numeral+Classifier comes after the Noun(4b): **NP Num Cla**;

5a. *dɔs^h ta holud sari*
 ten Cla yellow sari
 ‘Ten yellow saris’



5b. *holud sari dɔs^h ta*
 yellow sari ten Cla



As we seen above the classifier carries a specificity feature that must be checked by movement of the post classifier NP into the Spec of the Classifier phrase. The adjective moves with the noun show that is an instance of NP movement, rather than the kind of N to D movement.

Bhattacharya says about NP raising that the versions with the NP movement are more specific than the ones without movement. For example, *dɔs^hta holud sari* ‘ten Cla yellow sari’ would be translated as the indefinite term ‘ten yellow sari’ while *holud sari dɔs^hta* ‘yellow sari ten Cla’ would be translated as the definite ‘the ten yellow saris’.

The following table elaborates the distribution of classifiers inside nominal phrases and the resulting definite interpretation corresponding to the different word orders.

Classifiers	Num-Cla NP (Base)	NP-Cla (Alternative)			NP Num-Cla (Alternative)
		NPhum-Cla	NPmass-Cla	NPcount-Cla	
default Cla	Indefinite	Definite	Definite	Definite	Definite
-ta/to/te					
-jon	Indefinite	Definite	-	-	-
Shape	Indefinite	-	-	Definite	Definite
specific					
-					
k^hana/gac^ha					
-k^hani/gac^hi	Indefinite	-	-	Definite	Definite

Table 2: Numeral Classifiers in Bangla, their relative order and interpretation**Source:** Biswas (2014)

I introduce one more test which is called the familiarity test in support of this claim. The familiarity test for definiteness (Lyons 1999, von Heusinger 2002) requires the referent to be familiar to both the speaker and the hearer. According to this diagnostic, the raised NP is interpreted as a specific definite, i.e. the referent is familiar to both the speaker and the hearer. This test confirms definite readings of the NP raised order with respect to all classifiers. A summary is presented in table 3.

	Num-Cla NP	NP-Cla	NP Nun-Cla
Familiar to speaker	yes/no	Yes	yes
Familiar to hearer	no	Yes	yes
Interpretation	Indefinite (±Specific)	Definite (+Specific)	Definite (+Specific)

Table 3: Base and alternative orders and their interpretation**Source:** Biswas (2014)

4. Data and Discussion

4.1 Significance of ‘-ta’ according to Russell’s Theory of Description

According to Russell the reference of ‘logically proper names’ is simple and direct. The semantic value of a name is simply the object it refers to. This kind of sentence contains that object as a component. The proposition always expressed by sentence. So the proposition of this kind of sentence are said to be object dependent.

On this point names and singular description are different. The difference can be illustrated with the example below:

8a. *bainti ekṭu ekṭu kore barc^{he}*

8b. *kumaoner nikoṭe himalāi s^{hik}or-ta ekṭu ekṭu kore barc^{he}*

Assuming that the name ‘bainti’ doesn’t refer to anything, sentence (8a) doesn’t express a proposition. If it did, we should be able what kind of state of affairs would constitute the truth condition for such a proposition. Depending on what ‘bainti’ is the situation might be a living creature growing, a cyclone building or a town spreading. In fact the meaninglessness of the empty name leaves us in the dark.

But if we take the 2nd sentence, the meaning is clear; there is a one Himalayan peak and the peak is becoming larger. The sentence is also meaningful if there is no Himalayan peak near kumaon. Because according to Russell a sentence with non-denoting definite description is meaningful – it does express a proposition and the proposition is false.

According to Russell, a definite description denotes an individual: there must be an individual accurately described by the description and there must be only one. These two requirements commonly called **existential commitment** (there is such a thing) and the **uniqueness requirement** (there is only one).

Consider an example:

9. *holud sari-ta benarosi*

Yellow sari-Cla benarasi

‘The yellow sari is Benarasi.’

$\exists x$ (YELLOW SARI(x) & $\forall y$ (YELLOW SARI(y) $\rightarrow y=x$) & BENARASI(x)

‘There is an x such that x is a yellow sari, and any y which is a yellow sari is the same object as x, and

x is Benarasi.'

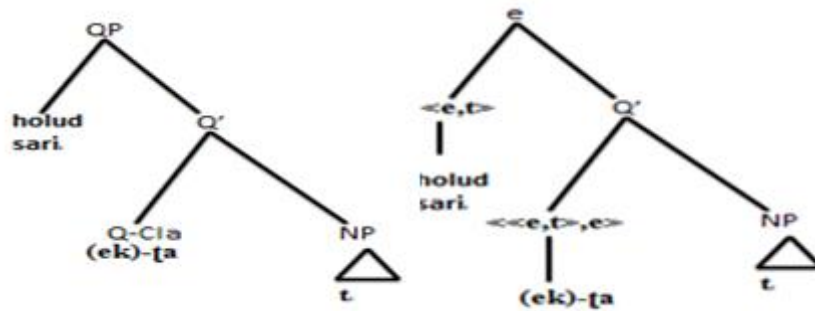
- a. 'There is a sari which is yellow'. (existential commitment)
- b. 'There is no yellow sari other than x' or 'there is only one yellow sari.' (uniqueness requirement)
- c. 'It is Benarasi.'

Here the sentence 'the yellow sari is Benarasi' assert three conjoined proposition, shown in (9a-c) above. If any of these is false the whole proposition is false.

Here '-ta' is generalized as a quantifier.

4.1 Generalized '-ta' as lambda functions

To form λ function we need λ operator and variable for the kind of expression that the λ operator binds. We add predicate variables to construct λ functions for the remaining types – e forming -ta interseptive modifiers.



The analysis of a 'holud sari' (Yellow sari) here treats 'holud' as an interseptive modifier, where the modifier 'holud' and the modifier predicate sari are conjoined. This analysis entails that the two statements x is yellow and x is a Sari must both be true independently.

The modifiers we have are type of $\langle e, t \rangle$ and the rule for this is **Interseptive Modifier rule**.

$$\|A\langle e, t \rangle + B\langle e, t \rangle\| = \lambda x [A(x) \& B(x)]$$

$$\|\text{holud sari}\| = \lambda x [\text{HOLUD}(x) \& \text{SARI}(x)]$$

We can adopt a simple rule for e forming '-ta' of type $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, e \rangle$ from example above 'ek-ta holud sari' (a yellow sari) or 'holud sari-ta' (the yellow sari). A phrase like 'holud sari-ta' in this context refers to the entity such that it is the only sari – that is, there is only one sari and 'sari-ta' refers to it. The requirement of uniqueness is generally particular to the specific context, so that 'holud sari-ta' is understood as 'the single sari that is yellow', 'the single sari that I am currently talking about', and so on. If we consider the actual content of the contextual information to be pragmatic, then we can define the semantics of the singular '-ta' in terms of requirement 'the only one'. The 'only one' requirement is expressed by the **iota operator** ι which combines with a predicate to form an e type expression as illustrated in:

$$9. \iota x (\text{SARI}(x)) = a \text{ iff } \exists y (\text{SARI}(y) \& \forall z (\text{SARI}(z) \leftrightarrow z=y) \& y=a)$$

$$\iota x (\text{SARI}(x)) = a \text{ iff}$$

'the sari is the entity as if and only if...'

$$\exists x (\text{SARI}(x) \& \forall y (\text{SARI}(y) \leftrightarrow y=x)$$

'there is a sari x, and any entity y is a sari if and only if y is the same entity as x' (i.e.

'x is the only sari')...

& x=a

'and x is the same entity as a'

10. Using the iota operator, the simple rule for e-forming ‘-ta’ is

$$\text{i. } \|\text{sari-ta}\| = \iota x (\text{SARI}(x))$$

We use a variable to represent predicates, not individuals. By convention the variable for predicate ‘sari’ is Capital letters P. So we represent as in (2):

$$\text{ii. } \|\text{P-ta}\| = \iota x (\text{P}(x))$$

Now we can analyze singular ‘-ta’ as in (3):

$$\text{iii. } \|\text{-ta}\| = \lambda P (\iota x (\text{P}(x)))$$

11. holud sari-ta

From the lexicon:

$$\|\text{-ta}\| = \lambda P [\iota x (\text{P}(x))]$$

‘holud’ is a modifier adjective. ‘holud’ modifies the ‘Sari’. A modifier adjective takes a predicate as its argument. In this phrase ‘holud sari’ the modifier ‘holud’ is a function which takes ‘sari’ as its argument:

$$\|\text{holud}\| = \lambda P [\lambda x (\text{HOLUD}(x) \& \text{P}(x))]$$

Using lambda abstraction we define the predicate ‘sari’. It’s function of types $\langle e, t \rangle$. From an open proposition with this predicate add λ abstraction:

$$\text{SARI} \Rightarrow \text{SARI}(x) \Rightarrow \lambda x [\text{SARI}(x)]$$

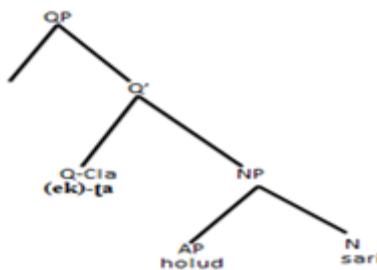
$$\|\text{sari}\| = \lambda x [\text{SARI}(x)]$$

Terminal Node Rule:

$$\|\text{Q-Cla}\| = \|\text{-ta}\| = \lambda P [\iota x (\text{P}(x))]$$

$$\|\text{AP}\| = \|\text{holud}\| = \lambda P [\lambda x (\text{HOLUD}(x) \& \text{P}(x))]$$

$$\|\text{N}\| = \|\text{sari}\| = \lambda x [\text{SARI}(x)]$$



Assign a constant to a referent:

$$\iota x (\text{HOLUD}(x) \& \text{SARI}(x)) = a$$

$$\|\text{QP}\| = \iota x (\text{HOLUD}(x) \& \text{SARI}(x))$$

[After the lambda reduction of (a)]

a) **Functional application –ta (NP)**

$$\lambda P [\iota x (\text{P}(x))] (\lambda x (\text{HOLUD}(x) \& \text{SARI}(x)))$$

$||NP|| = \lambda x [HOLUD(x) \ \& \ SARI(x)]$
 [After the lambda reduction of (b)]

b) **Functional application AP (N):**

$\lambda P[\lambda x [(HOLUD(x) \ \& \ P(x))] (\lambda y[SARI(y)])]$

Lambda reduction:

$= \lambda x [HOLUD(x) \ \& \ \lambda y [SARI(y)] (x)]$

$= \lambda x [HOLUD(x) \ \& \ SARI(x)]$

With the use of predicate variable we can also define ‘ek--**ta**’ in a QP. The definition for ‘ek--**ta**’ in (12):

12. ek--**ta holud sari** $||ek--\mathbf{ta}|| = \lambda P[P]$

The function $\lambda P [P]$ takes the predicate denoted by the noun phrase as its argument:

13. $||ek--\mathbf{ta holud sari}|| = \lambda P[P] (\lambda x [HOLUD(x) \ \& \ SARI(x)])$

Lambda reduction: $\lambda P [P] (\lambda x [HOLUD(x) \ \& \ SARI(x)])$

$= \lambda x [HOLUD(x) \ \& \ SARI(x)]$

5. Conclusions

We see that the base word order and the alternative order are interpreted differently. The base order can have both strong and weak indefinite interpretation. The alternative order, on the other hand, has a definite interpretation. Syntactically we assume that this alternative order is result of the same mechanism of NP-raising – the NP rises past the classifier, or past the numeral classifier complex- and they have the same definite interpretation. The alternative order contributes to specific reading. The NP moves to the specifier of QP for checking definite feature.

Uniqueness is another property of definiteness: the referent of a definite NP needs to be uniquely identifiable to the speaker and the hearer. No reference to the prior discourse is required. The unique referent is more salient in the current context. Uniqueness also satisfied by anaphorically, except that the antecedent of the anaphor needs to be present in the immediate discourse, while uniqueness involves maximal reference with respect to the current context.

This paper establishes a link between Syntax and Semantics. In my paper, these two different approaches describe the way of forming definiteness by numeral classifier. This discussion on Bangla numeral classifiers tries to solve the difference between Specificity and definiteness and interpret both syntactically and semantically.

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Representations of Multilingualism in Urban Space: An Analysis of the Linguistic Landscape of Tunisia

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ABSTRACT

In keeping with a new trend in sociolinguistic research which explores the linguistic landscape (LL) and visual semiotics of bilingual and multilingual environments (Backhaus, 2007; Scollon & Scollon, 2003), this study offers to analyze the LL of Tunisia, a country characterized by a rich history of linguistic diversity. Taking up the definition of LL offered by Landry and Bourhis (1997), this investigation will involve the examination of the various languages featured in visual signs such as public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings and how they are used in Tunisia to mediate multilingualism but also to express, articulate, and negotiate existing and emerging identities. The analysis of the data from visual signs will provide an illustrative account of the complexities of the linguistic situation in Tunisia, which blends top-down and bottom-up advocacies of Arabization, vernacularization and Arabic-French bilingualism, as well as the more recent use of English as the emergent language of globalization and economic prospects.

1. Introduction, Background, and Scope of the Study

The study of linguistic landscape is an emerging interdisciplinary field which encompasses areas of research such as sociolinguistics, language policy and planning as well as other disciplines. Despite the fact that this relatively new area of investigation has been labeled by using different referents - - 'semiotic landscape' (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010); 'cityscapes' (Gorter, 2006); or 'geosemiotics' (Scollon & Scollon, 2003) - - a seminal paper by Landry and Bourhis (1997, p. 25) has provided some landmarks in establishing what the term LL refers to:

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings [which] combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.

The city as a whole constitutes a rich environment where languages thrive and the study of varieties is made easy. An established and rich tradition of sociolinguistic studies have been centered around the examination of oral or spoken varieties in large cities (e.g. Labov, 1972, 1980; Trudgill, 1995, 1999); however written and especially visual language is as important as its oral counterpart in the makeup of a LL. Based on this, it can be said that research in LL is much needed due to the prevailing tradition of research which over-emphasized the role of spoken language at the detriment of written forms. More specifically, language as it is perceived in linguistic scholarly and academic research is shown *prima*

facie as the realm of written forms at the expense of visual forms; what LL posits is that language has also a visual dimension which is crucial to understand and to closely examine. While a majority of LL studies have a common linguistic denominator, this field of research covers a wide array of expertise:

The study of linguistic landscape can be done from multiple perspectives. The list could be elaborated further to include the fields of landscape architecture, communication studies, discourse studies as well as media and cultural studies and disciplines dealing with the theory, practice and aesthetics of visual design (Gorter, 2006 p. 88).

Bearing on these considerations, it thus seems that the diversity and interdisciplinarity in LL research offers a more actualized and contextualized way to investigate multilingualism. This can be explained by the fact that through the exploration LL it is possible to both have an idea about the actual linguistic situation or make-up of a given context, but also to determine how language used on signs actually reflects the sociolinguistic state of affairs in a particular setting or context. In this regard, LL may enlighten us on how the use and representation of languages is a diagnostic for both top-down and bottom-up linguistic advocacies and practices. Following this line of research, my study offers to focus on how close examinations of the LL can shed light on the linguistic situation and make-up of bilingual and multilingual settings. More specifically, the scope of my investigation will consist in analyzing how a close study of the LL of Tunisia may help in unveiling, understanding and defining both the overt linguistic policies but also the covert and tacit linguistic practices of this country.

2. Signs and Semiotics

The study and analysis of signs has been theorized and explored at length in linguistics and more specifically in light of traditional semiotic theories (de Saussure 1916; Peirce 1955; Barthes 1967; Eco 1976; Sebeok 1977; Morris 1970). In order to have a sounder understanding of some of the basic elements pertaining to the study of signs and since the present study offers to explore and study linguistic signs, it is necessary to grapple some basic concepts and fundamental notions related to signs.

When analyzing signs, it is necessary to draw a distinction between three semiotic categories which have been defined in light of Peircean semiotics (Peirce, 1955; Lyons, 1977 p. 106):

- a. The icon: a representation of an entity in the world which conveys similarity with the actual entity (e.g. a smiley which can be used to represent a smiling person in internet chats);
- b. The symbol: a completely arbitrary and purely conventional representation of an entity in the world where the signifier does not resemble the signified (e.g. a green traffic light means we can continue driving – hence the arbitrary association between the color green and the action of driving is not an inherent quality of the traffic sign ‘green’);
- c. The index: a sign which means something because of where and when it is created in the world but also because of how it causally relates to another referent (e.g. an arrow pointing towards one direction down a street showing the direction where traffic should go).

3. Review of the Literature

The study of LL has a rich tradition of works which are diffuse, and this is mainly due to the fact that past research did not adopt a cohesive and single terminology to categorize this realm of research but also because the discipline is relatively young. In the following selected literature. I review some of the milestones in LL research and provide an overview of the diversity of settings, contexts, and sites of investigation of signs in the public space.

Previous research in the LL of language policy and planning can be organized around three thematic categories,

- a. Studies which showed the gap between the official monolingual policies advocated by the state and the observed linguistic trends which contradict these policies and involve more than one official language in the linguistic landscape;
- b. Studies which examined the ‘symbolic’ power relations of certain languages vis-à-vis others and how the use of specific languages indexes power, status, or prestige;
- c. Studies which showed that the linguistic marking of the LL can be used to index identity, ethnicity, and group belonging. The following review of the literature will thus follow this threefold categorization.

3.1 Studies which show the discrepancy between official policies and public linguistic practices

Masai (1972) offered to investigate the LL of Tokyo in Japan with respect to the names of the businesses given on signs by examining three parameters: languages used, scripts used, and types of businesses. The results of this correlative analysis showed that while the language policy of the country (i.e. Japan) advocated monolingualism, the actual linguistic landscape represented a rich multilingual environment which displayed, among other languages, English, French, Spanish, Chinese, German, and Russian. Analyzing the linguistic landscape of Belgium and more specifically Brussels, Tulp (1978) focused on how the language displayed on commercial billboards was gradually contributing to the ‘Frenchification’ of the city. This study showed that the government’s policy of French/Dutch bilingualism is not reflected in the landscape since French is more prevalent and overpowers Dutch in the LL. In a study in French Canada (Quebec), Monnier (1989) analyzed to which extent the LL reflected governmental decrees by testing whether the legal requirements of the Charter of the French Language (CFL) were applied in the LL. The results provided evidence that political legislation is not always met with concrete implementations and more specifically that the CFL was violated since the French language was not the exclusive language used on signs. In light of this first category of LL research, there seems to be a clear pattern which emerges in a variety of studies outlining a dichotomy on signs between languages of the state (administered by virtue of official decree) versus languages in the state (languages which are existent in the context even though they are not officially recognized from an institutional perspective).

3.2 Studies which outline the symbolic power relations between languages

Analyzing the LL of Brussels, Wenzel (1996) looked at the representation of Dutch, French, and English in the Belgian city’s landscape by focusing particularly at commercial signs. The results of his analysis revealed that there was an imbalance in the representation of French and Dutch in the capital, with more French signs than Dutch ones. It is suggested by the author that this imbalance which favors French over Dutch can be explained by the symbolic prestige associated with the French language which makes it the preferred language in terms of visibility. Several studies illustrated the power relation between languages by specifically looking at how English is represented in the LL, and how this language acts as an index of symbolic capital (i.e. prestige, power, access to education and upward economic mobility) and as an indicator of the globalization of cultural practices and economy (Heller, 2003; Machin & van Leeuwen, 2003; Pennycook 2003;). An illustration of this idea is the early study performed by Rosenbaum et al. (1977) who analyzed both language (Hebrew and English) and script (Hebrew and Roman) representation in the landscape of a busy street of Jerusalem (Keren Kayemet Street). Their study revealed the pervasiveness of English and how it is growing, available, and directly encountered in the streets of Jerusalem. A study by Ross (1997) analyzed the growth of English on shop signs and revealed that the presence of English in Milan, Italy represents a business appeal of prestige, chic and fashion. Concurring with this idea of the growing visibility and representation of English in the LL, Schlick (2002) examined the LL of three European cities Klagenfurt, Austria; Udine, Italy; and Ljubljana, Slovenia. The findings revealed that the growing prominence of English in non-English speaking countries around the world could be explained by the

appeal of English as a global language conveying a 'cosmopolitan flair' to these cities.

3.3 Studies which show how signs can be used symbolically to mark identity, ethnicity, and group belonging

This category of LL studies is by far the one where research is the scarcest, and where much future work is needed. Smalley (1994) examined the LL of Bangkok, by looking at shop signs in three different areas of the capital city of Thailand. It was shown in his analysis that there was a clear correlation between the ethnic make-up of each street and the choice of language and script. In this respect, the linguistic marking of the public space obeyed the social make-up and composition of the respective streets. Thus, the LL reflected each respective ethnic group (i.e. Thai, Western, and Chinese) in terms of language choice and choice of script. Shohamy et al. (2006) analyzed how the LL is used in the symbolic construction of the public space. Languages and their representation in the public space are shown to be used as markers of identity, ethnicity, and group affiliation. A second category of research within this thread of studies examining LL is more theoretical in its focus; Scollon and Scollon (2003) introduced two fundamental notions to examine and study signs. One of these notions is the idea of 'semiotic aggregate' which posits that signs operate with other signs in an 'intersemiotic, interdiscursive dialogicality'. A second idea introduced by Scollon and Scollon is that signs have referential power and they only make sense when located in a particular context. Additionally, the authors argue that signs can be used as a symbol of geopolitical power and that there is a social meaning when placing signs in the world. An additional theoretical framework which examined how spatiality and identity were interconnected in signs can be found respectively in Benwell & Stokoe (2006) and Blommaert, (2005). Both of these authors mention the idea that identity is implicitly or explicitly semiotized in signs and that there is a link between space, social action, and identity in the sense that space channels human activity along identity lines.

3.4 Gaps in the Literature

In light of this review of the literature, it can be said that more studies are needed which explore the LL of Africa in general and of the Maghreb in particular. In this light, it thus seems that in previous LL studies there is a manifest need for future research focusing on North Africa. Also, it should be noted in this context that very few studies examined the LL in light of post-colonial contexts and most of the studies have been centered on previous colonizing nations (France, Belgium, Spain, The Netherlands, Austria, etc.). It could be argued that a closer look at the LL of former African colonies could bring more insights in LL research and provide a more diversified perspective on how languages are represented in environments where multilingualism is not an oddity or a rarity. Finally, a crucial point which needs to be emphasized is that a majority of previous LL studies, if not all, share the commonness of not having a solid theoretical framework governing the analysis of visual data. Although this tendency is starting to change in more recent LL research, adopting a theoretical framework for the investigation and analysis of LL seems to be a difficult and challenging enterprise. Some guiding theoretical frameworks have occasionally been adopted in LL research (e.g. Landry and Bourhis, 1997; Shohamy et al. 2006; Huebner, 2006).

4. Research Questions and Hypotheses

4.1 Research Problem

This study seeks to examine how visual signs (semiotic and linguistic), encountered in the streets of Tunisia, provide evidence of the linguistic policy of the country as well as of linguistic practices which are not in line with the declared official policies. In addition, this research aims to investigate how linguistic and semiotic signs provide evidence for existing identities but also model and project emerging identities.

4.2 *Scope of the Analysis*

The examination of language policy and linguistic practices as well as of the construction of identity in the visual landscape of Tunisia will be examined in light of the following categorizations:

- a. Linguistic Codes: (Language Choice, Script Choice)
- b. Institutional Status of Signs: (Official, Non-Official)
- c. Visual Identities Represented on Signs (e.g. Image of Women in the LL)

4.3 *Research Questions*

While this research is only at its preliminary phase, there are however a number of questions which this study generates. Some of these research questions and problems may or may not constitute the future inquiries which this study will seek to address however it is better at this stage to keep these emerging questions and hypotheses. Some of these questions include the following:

1. What languages are used on signs in Tunisia?
2. What are the proportions of monolingual and multilingual signs?
3. How many of the multilingual signs give translations of the same text?
4. What are the proportions of the national language Modern Standard Arabic, the colloquial language Tunisian Arabic and the international languages French and English?
5. What do all these languages index in terms of symbolic power, prestige, and group belonging?
6. How does language relate to other symbol systems in conveying meaning in these signs?
7. What are the language(s) of preferred use on signs in the LL of Tunisia? More specifically, what is the hierarchy of languages in the signs?
8. Is this preferred use of language(s) distinguished geographically (urban vs. rural) or socio-economically? (High class neighborhood vs. Middle-class neighborhood vs. Poor neighborhood) – more specifically, does the proportion of languages or the hierarchy of languages differ according to the specific contexts where they are found, the class/background of clientele (in the case of commercial signs), the owner of the business?
9. What are some of the heuristic implications of the analysis of signs in Tunisia?
10. Are there pedagogical implications in the study and analysis of the LL of Tunisia? More specifically, can signs in the LL of Tunisia enlighten us on how second language learners may learn languages not only within classroom environments but also outside the classroom?

5. **Methodology, Procedures and Analysis of the Data**

The analysis of the LL of Tunisia which will be presented in the following expository and preliminary part of the research assumes a combination of already defined categories of analysis which have been introduced in the LL literature, but also developed categories of data interpretation. Defining the surveyed items and signs will obey the thematic categorization of signs which has been mentioned above in 4.2. It is important to bear in mind at this stage that the samples provided are used to illustrate these analytical categories and are based on a preliminary analysis of the existing data. In this respect, these signs and the categories associated with them are neither representative of the LL of Tunisia¹ nor of the findings of this research in progress.

5.1 *Linguistic Codes*

A. Choice of Language

¹ Future analysis of the data may reveal additional emerging categories other than the ones enunciated here.

a) Monolingual Signs

The first classification was established on the basis of language represented on the sign. In this respect there were three different types of signs which were identified: monolingual, bilingual and multilingual (3 or more languages). In all monolingual signs, there was a high degree of diversity in the type of linguistic representation and the languages commonly encountered were Modern Standard Arabic (Image 1), French, and English.



Image 1. Modern Standard Arabic Monolingual Sign

b) Bilingual Signs

Bilingual signs were also relatively diversified and ran the gamut from combinations involving Modern Standard Arabic and French, Modern Standard Arabic and English, English and French (Image 2) to Modern Standard Arabic-Tunisian Arabic.



Image 2. English – French Bilingual Sign

c) Multilingual Signs

Multilingual signs although representing a smaller proportion featured rather interesting combinations of languages, an example of which is given in Image 3



Image 3. Modern Standard Arabic – Tunisian Arabic – French Multilingual Sign

B. Choice of Script

The presence of a large variety of scripts within a linguistic environment has been referred to by Coulmas (1996) as multiscritpialism (see also Asfaha et al., 2008). This construct is together with multilingualism a relevant indicator of linguistic diversity especially when the diversity of scripts is visible in the LL. In Tunisia, the LL presents a large variety of scripts and a preliminary analysis of the data has revealed the following taxonomy of scripts in the landscape

- Arabic (MSA)
- Arabic (TA)
- Romanized Arabic (Transliteration) – (Image 4)
- Roman Alphabet (French – English – Italian – Spanish)
- Hebrew
- Chinese



Image 4. Roman Script (French & English)
Arabic Script (Modern Standard Arabic)
Transliterated Arabic Script of the English “The Cast”

5.2 Issuing Authority and Institutional Status of Signs

This classification serves to distinguish between government-initiated signs versus signs initiated by the general public. Some other denominations of this categorization of public signs includes private and public (Landry & Bourhis; 1997) official and nonofficial (Backhaus; 2006) and in-vitro and in-vivo (Calvet; 1990, 1994). The notions of Power and Solidarity (Brown & Gilman, 1960; Backhaus, 2006) have been offered as sociolinguistic variables which can be used to analyze the language distribution and institutional status of linguistic signs. In this respect, these two constructs may help to provide a more thorough analysis of top-down and bottom-up signs rather than just providing a taxonomic classification.

a) Top-Down Signs (Public or Governmental)

Top-down signs reflect the language policy of the country; such official signs which are generally written in the national language thus represent high status and as such assert the power of the national language over the designated space (Image 5).



Image 5: Official Sign where the hierarchy and the size displays the power/status assigned to Modern Standard Arabic vis-à-vis French

b) Bottom-Up Signs (Private or Non-Governmental)

Non-official signs (Image 6) have been described in the literature as conveying solidarity. Specifically, in the case of Tunisia, bottom-up signs make use of foreign languages to express solidarity with the sign readers (e.g. appeal to tourists) but also convey notions of cosmopolitanism and global flair. Shohamy et al. (2006) mentioned this idea by arguing that the LL can be used to manifest a sheer interest in benefits associated with language uses (e.g. use of English for its attractiveness to visitors/tourists/businessmen and to a globalized world of priming economy).



Image 6: Non-Official Sign involving Tunisian Arabic (both in Arabic and transliterated scripts) and French

Status and Hierarchy between languages is less marked/visible in this sign

It should be noted that a majority of LL research (Backhaus, 2005; Landry & Bourhis 1997) outlines the fact that there is a higher degree of multilingualism in bottom-up signs than top-down signs and that there is usually more visible language diversity on private rather than on government signs.

5.3 Visual Identities Represented on Signs

Although most LL studies have focused on the importance of language representation, Calvet (1990, 1994), and Scollon & Scollon (2003) were some of the first researchers to distinguish between linguistic form and semiotic representation on signs. In this light, it is important to remember that examining the LL of a particular context is not only limited to a linguistic analysis per se but can also cover other semiotic levels of analysis which include pictures, images and other visual dimensions.

A. Female Identities in the Visual Landscape

Despite the fact that the link between signs and identity is difficult to establish and has not been discussed substantially in the literature, it is still possible to identify certain patterns whereby identity is marked spatially in the landscape. Blommaert (2005, p. 208) explains that the range of identities which can be encountered in society depend largely on the range of available semiotic resources out of which recognizable identities can be constructed. After a preliminary analysis, it was shown that the representation of women in the visual landscape of Tunisia, especially in advertisement, combines a dual representation of the woman as modern, urban, representing a new look, and close to European standards on the one hand (Image 7) but also projects traditional representations of the woman as motherly and nurturing (Image 8).



Image 7. Sign Advertising a School for Fashion Design



Image 8. Sign for Postal Services with a mother holding her son

The concept of ‘synthetic personalization’ mentioned by Benwell & Stokoe (2006, p. 167) seems to be particularly relevant here. According to Benwell & Stokoe, synthetic personalization uses the protagonist represented in the advertisement (e.g. one woman) as an epitome of a general sociological category (Tunisian women), as a consequence, a broad advertising audience is addressed as one individual and one individual personifies a broader advertising audience.

6. Significance and Implications: Ecological validity of LL studies

As has been shown in the introductory section of this paper, the study of signs in general and of the LL in particular can be approached from different research traditions and while the reasons for examining and analyzing signs may also vary greatly, different scholars working in the specific field of LL have all outlined the important implications of conducting this type of research. Shohamy and Gorter (2009) for instance discuss the heuristic potential of LL by arguing that:

LL analysis allows us to point out patterns representing different ways in which people, groups, associations, institutions and government agencies cope with the game of symbols within a complex reality. (p. 27).

In a similar vein, Reh (2004) mentions that the LL can be used as a diagnostic for “The social layering of the community, the relative status of the various societal segments, and the dominant cultural ideas” (p. 38).

6.1 Linguistic Landscape and Second Language Acquisition

Gorter (2006) also notes that the study of LL can have implications for second language acquisition: In the context of second language acquisition studies questions can be asked such as ‘How is the linguistic landscape perceived by L2 users?’, ‘What is the role of the linguistic landscape as an additional source of language input?’ or ‘What attitudes do these L2 users have towards the linguistic landscape?’ (p. 87).

Overall, the analysis of the data on visual signs in Tunisia will provide an illustrative account of how signs and their use in-context can provide a new and integrated way to access second language learners’ competence. In particular, the investigation of visual signs will enable future research in second language to re-consider and re-evaluate the importance of contextual linguistic background knowledge when teaching a second language.

7. Conclusions and Future Research

One of the problems of a top-down approach to analyzing data (which considers only the analyst’s perceptive) is that the investigation is carried out with the belief that the linguist has access to elements of perceivers’ reality that are not available or evident to the perceivers themselves. While it might be a

judicious idea to include an informant component whereby respondents are allowed to interpret the signs themselves as well, I however choose to leave this enterprise for future research as I am only looking at signs from a top-down analytic linguistic policy perspective. In addition, being both an insider to the Tunisian environment, and also an outsider to this society (I am Tunisian but I only visit Tunisia once a year); my analysis of signs is approached from both an insider's (emic) perspective as well as an outsider's (etic) perspective. This detachment allows me to occupy a 'third space' (Bhabha 1994; Bhatt 2008) of hybridity by being both an insider but also a transient outsider. The between-ness (Bhabha, 1994), and double-vision created by a transnational situation of back and forth migration allows me to perceive elements which are not as such perceivable to some members of the Tunisian population who may be more autochthonous and sedentary. The validity and significance of the examination of the LL of Tunisia will help to advance research on sociolinguistics, multilingualism, language policy and planning, and will provide a re-conceptualization of language as ecological, embedded in hybrid forms in a variety of social settings and combining with other symbol systems to produce meaning.

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Comparative Analysis of Feluda in Literary Translation

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ABSTRACT

This work tries to make a Comparative Analysis of Satyajit Ray's Feluda Series with its English Translation to locate the Linguistic and Culture specific changes in the Translated work. For this purpose, different strategies and types of translation are described. The approach of this work is interdisciplinary taking concepts from Linguistics and their application in Translation Studies. At the conclusion changes that are observed are noted down.

1. Introduction

Translation is the process of communication which involves conversion from a source language into an equivalent target language. Translation [as described by Roman Jakobson: *On Linguistic Aspects of Translation* (2000:114)] can be of three categories:

- i. Intralingual: Translation within a language (might be an abridged version of an earlier text, or sometimes translated from old language format to the new language).
- ii. Interlingual: Translation of a language into a different language (from Hindi to English or Bangla to English).
- iii. Intersemiotic: Also called 'transmutation', it is an interpretation of verbal signs by languages (like in a traffic signal we understand the meanings of different colours of light)

In this work, Interlingual translation will be further discussed on the case of the Feluda Series.

1.1 Feluda in Literary translation

Feluda stories has been translated into foreign languages like Spanish, Italian, and French etc. other than English. The first translated work of Feluda was done by Chitrita Banerji, she translated 3 novels and 1 story of Feluda in English in the book 'The adventures of Feluda' (published by Penguin books in 1988). Later Gopa Majumdar translated all the stories of Feluda in English compiled in 'The Complete adventures of Feluda part 1 and 2' (published by Penguin books in 2004) [Source: <https://penguin.co.in/>]. The Spanish book is 'Las aventuras de Feluda' translated by María Luisa Balseiro; Pablo Echevarría (published by Siruela in 1993). The Italian one is 'Le avventure

dell'ispettore Feluda'¹ by Sandra Grieco (published by Mondadori in 1994). The French translation is named as 'Les aventures de feluda'² (published by Kailash in 1998) [Source: <https://www.worldcat.org/>]. Other than foreign languages, works of Feluda is translated into Indian Languages like Marathi and Hindi in recent years. The Marathi version 'Fantastic Feluda Rahasyakatha' is translated by Ashok Jain (a set of four books published by Rohan Prakashan in 2015). The hindi books of Feluda are mostly separate stories like 'Feluda-1- Feluda Darjiling Me'³, 'Feluda 4- Siyar Dewta Rahasya'⁴ and others translated by Jaydeep Shekhar (published by JagPrabha in 2014) [Source: <http://jagprabha.in/>]. 'Sone ka kila: [kisora upanyasa]⁵' is another translated work of Feluda in Hindi (published by Rajkamal Prakashan Pvt. Ltd. In 2005) [Source: <https://www.worldcat.org/>].

For the purpose of the work I am going make a Comparative analysis of the 'Feluda Samagra 1 and 2' by Satyajit Ray (published by Ananda publishers in 2005) with the Translated work of Gopa Majumdar 'The Complete adventures of Feluda part 1 and 2' (published by Penguin books in 2004).

2. Literature Review

Elkjaer (2010) made a comparative analysis of the Danish Translations of the Twilight Saga⁶ in which theories in literary translation proposed by Eugene Nida, Lawrence Venuti and Christian Nord have been discussed. Further the challenges of literary translation have been mentioned. The strategies used in the Danish translation has been analyzed, finding the Extra-textual and Intra-Textual factors incorporated in the Translated work.

Ghosh (2016) made an examination of theorizing detective fiction with reference to the English translation of Feluda⁷ in The Complete adventures of Feluda part 1 and 2 by Gopa Majumdar. In this work a complete textual analysis of the Feluda stories in English is done along with summarizing each of them. The translation of Feluda stories from Text to Screen including Linguistic Changes have been observed. This study further analyze the complex narrative structure of Detective Fiction. Ghosh (2016:210) argues that detective novels are not 'artistically limited' and thus the sympathetic attitude towards this genre is unjustified.

Concepts and theories used in these mentioned works interested me to make the Comparative Analysis of Feluda Stories in Translation (From Bangla to English). The later sections are formulated on the footsteps of the above mentions works.

3. Theoretical Background

3.1. Defining Literary Translation

Literary Translation is a type of Translation where the source documents are fictional. There are various types of mediums of literary translation like Books, Articles, Novels, Stories, Drama, and also Poetry. Literary Translation does not only include a written base, but they can also be a spoken in a

¹ The meaning of the Italian translated book *Le avventure dell'ispettore Feluda* is *The adventures of inspector Feluda* but in the actual story Feluda is not an inspector he is a private investigator.

² Both the French and the Spanish book means *The adventures of Feluda*.

³ The original story is called '*Feludar Goyendagiri*' in Bangla and '*Danger in Darjeeling*' in the translated work of Gopa Majumder.

⁴ The original story is called '*Seyal Debota Rohosyo*' in Bangla and '*The Anubis Mystery*' in the translated work of Gopa Majumder.

⁵ The original story is called '*Sonar Kella*' in Bangla and '*The Golden Fortress*' in the translated work of Gopa Majumder.

⁶ The Twilight Saga – Literary Translation: A comparative analysis of the translations of the Twilight series. by Stinne Bierra Elkjaer, University of Aarhus in her Master of Arts thesis in 2010

⁷ Analyzing and Situating Detective fiction in an alternative canon with Special Reference to Feluda stories in English Translation by Shreya Ghosh, Phd thesis, Tripura University, 2016

word, song i.e., any kind of Literature. This type of translation is quite different and difficult from others because of the fact that literary translation are not meant to be literal, it need to fulfil an aesthetic function instead of an Information [Source: www.polyglot.tv]. Jones⁸ (1998/2009/2011: 152-157) characterizes literary translation as a ‘poetic’ use of language which implies that, the information given to the reader via L.T. should include the artistic image of the original text, keeping the wordplay, rhyme and other characteristics of the language of the Original text. It is often seen that the culture of ST might not be similar in the TT i.e., The TT culture might be using different features, models and techniques when it comes to literature (Toury 1995:170)⁹. A literal translation of two languages with unrelated culture cannot reflect the intended meaning of the author, so literary translation sometimes must be deviated from the ST. Another important feature of a language lies in its grammatical structure, the TT language may not have same structural characteristics like the ST, which makes the job of the Translator even more complex. Literary Translation (with a meaningful interpretation) must consider such differences of the Languages. Thus an optimal translated text in Literary Translation, must check the Cultural and Linguistic differences.

3.2. *Translating Strategies*

The primary dilemma in translating a work lies in the fact that the ideal strategy should be ‘Word for Word’ or ‘Sense for Sense’ (Munday, 2001/2008:19). As a matter of fact ‘Word for Word’ (literal) might be called ‘faithful’ but what about the differences of grammatical structure in the languages of ST and TT, and in case of ‘Sense for Sense’ (free translation) the question arises if the Translated Work remains faithful or not. This is what Steiner¹⁰ (1998:319) calls a ‘sterile’ debate over the triad of ‘literal’, ‘free’ and ‘faithful.’

So, the point of an ideal translation strategy remains a questionable fact. However, Dryden’s brief description of the translation process have an enormous effect on the theory of Translation. Dryden’s (1680/1992:17) translation of Ovid’s Epistles in 1680 gives 3 major strategies of Translation.¹¹

- ‘Metaphrase’: “‘word by word’ and ‘line by line’ translation, which corresponds to literal translation.” This strategy can be called the most ‘faithful’ but as discussed earlier it fails to capture the ‘Grammatical’ differences which leads to create ungrammatical sentences in the TT.
- ‘Paraphrase’: “A translating strategy with ‘latitude’, where the author is kept in view by the translator but his words are not so strictly followed rather his sense is followed.” This strategy includes changes of the original phrase but more or less it can be said as a ‘faithful’ translation.
- ‘Imitation’: “Can also be called ‘Adaptation’.” It includes changes of both ‘word’ and ‘sense’. The least faithful method of translation but this strategy can actually capture the cultural changed of two languages. For ex: A Hindu tradition (Diwali, the festival of lights) can have an equivalent Jewish tradition (Hanukkah, the festival of lights). So a Jewish reader would find the reference to their own culture easier to comprehend.

Schleiermacher (1813) ‘On the different Methods of Translating’¹² writes the translator has only two options.

⁸ *Literary Translation* by R. Jones, Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies, published by Routledge 1998/2009/2011

⁹ *Descriptive Translation Studies and beyond* by G. Toury, John Benjamins Publishing Company 1995

¹⁰ *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* by G. Steiner, Oxford University Press ,1998

¹¹ *cited by Jeremy Munday 2001/2008: 26, *Introducing Translation Studies* published by Routledge

¹² The german book *Über die verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens*

“Either the translator leaves the writer in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him, or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him.”¹³ (Schleiermacher 1813/2004: 49)

Schleiermacher however preferred the first strategy, the translator must move the reader towards writer. On this context Munday (2001/2008:29) writes

“To achieve this, the translator must adopt an ‘alienating’ (as opposed to ‘naturalizing’) method of translation, orienting himself or herself by the language and content of the ST. He or she must valorize the foreign and transfer that into the TL.”

Venuti¹⁴ (1995/2008:18-21) further elaborates the concept of Schleiermacher. He introduces the concept of Domestication and Foreignization. Domestication brings the author to the reader’s home and Foreignization takes the reader abroad to the author’s home.

4. Challenges in Literary translation:

4.1 Linguistic

As mentioned in the introduction Jakobson (2000:113-118) labelled 3 types of translation 1. Intralingual, 2. Interlingual and 3. Intersemiotic. He further elaborates on the topic of ‘Linguistic Equivalence’¹⁵ in case of Interlingual translation on his famous example of ‘cheese’ in English which is not equivalent to the Russian ‘*syr*’ since in the Russian code unit there is no concept of ‘cottage cheese’.

“Most frequently, however, translation from one language into another substitutes messages in one language not for separate code-units but for entire messages in some other language. Such a translation is a reported speech; the translator recodes and transmits a message received from another source. Thus translation involves two equivalent messages in two different codes.” [Jakobson 2000:114]

Jakobson points out that there is no full equivalence between code units of two language. An example can be given from the subtitles of the movie *Goopy Gayen and Bagha Bayen*¹⁶. In the film the character *Halla Raja* scorns his subjects for being lazy and addresses them as *Kumbhakarna* (The brother of *Ravana* who sleeps for 6 months a year according to *Ramayana*¹⁷) is subtitled as *Sleeping Beauty*¹⁸ (The princess who slept for 100 years). It is certain the word *Kumbhakarna* and *Sleeping Beauty* are unrelated but somehow for an English audience it is easier to understand the notion of someone ‘who sleeps a lot’ from the word *Sleeping Beauty*.

Jakobson (2000:115-118) further describes the problems in Interlingual translation

1. The level of Semantic field: Two languages might not have same grammatical categories. For ex: Sanskrit has a tripartite number system Singular, Dual and Plural but English or Bangla doesn’t have Dual markers. In fact in case of Bangla and English, one major difference is the absence of auxiliary verbs in Bangla.
2. The level of Aspect: The verb morphology of languages differ from one another. For example in *Toto*¹⁹ the aspect marker depends on verb type (State, Activity, Achievement and

¹³A full translation is given in Lefevere (1992b:141–66) *Translation/History/Culture: A source book* published by Routledge

¹⁴ *The Translator’s Invisibility :A History of Translation* by Lawrence Venuti, published by Routledge 1995/2008

¹⁵ *On Linguistic Aspect of Translation* by Roman Jakobson, 113-118 The Translation Studies Reader, Lawrence Venuti (ed), published by Routledge 2000

¹⁶ *Goopy Gayen and Bagha Bayen* (The Adventures of Goopy and Bagha) is a movie directed by Satyajit Ray which got released in 1968

¹⁷ *Ramayana* is one of the two major epics of ancient India written by Valmiki

¹⁸ *Sleeping Beauty* is a classic fairy tale which involves a beautiful princess, a sleeping enchantment, and a handsome prince.

¹⁹ A critically endangered language spoken in ‘Totopara’, Alipurduar District, West Bengal

Accomplishment). In case of Bangla and English, Bangla verbs mark person and number but in English number is mostly marked by an auxiliary (exception third person singular 'He goes to School' here the '-es' suffix mark number, gender and tense).

3. The level of Gender: Some languages mark grammatical gender where others doesn't. Example: Hindi being a noun class²⁰ language marks 'vehicles' as feminine gender which is 'neuter' in both Bangla and English. Bangla and English doesn't mark grammatical gender.

Nida (2000:126)²¹ claims that

"Since no two languages are identical, either in the meanings given to corresponding symbols or in the ways in which such symbols are arranged in phrases and sentences, it stands to reason that there can be no absolute correspondence between languages. Hence there can be no fully exact translations. The total impact of a translation may be reasonably close to the original, but there can be no identity in detail."

4.2 Cultural

The second type of problem encountered in literary translation is the Culture specific terms.

On this topic Nida²² (1945: 194-208) describes the relationship between Linguistics and Ethnology. He says "Language is best described as a part of culture" [p.194]. He further points out the semantic problems during translating a text. Every language has its own specific semantic terms²³ which might not be present in the TT.

Nida (1945:194-195) points out 4 main factors as problems of translation.

- "First, most translations with which we are familiar have been carried on within the Indo-European language-family, and, for the most part, the culture of this linguistic area is relatively homogeneous."
- "Second, most translations which have involved data from widely differing cultures have been translations from languages representing simple cultures to languages representing complex cultures. For example, translations of folk-lore data from Zuni to English. The complex cultures have so many alternates of behavior and have acquired such a knowledge of alternates in other cultures that the translation-task is not so complicated, nor is the translator so aware of the cultural features involved."
- "A third factor tending to obscure the cultural features involved in translation is our habit of discussing words almost wholly in terms of psychological entities rather than in terms of social one. The study of semantics on the basis of certain psychological theories has too often resulted in the entire problem being enmeshed in theories of perception and the relationship between the 'referent' and the 'thought-complex.'"

²⁰ In linguistics, a noun class is a particular category of nouns. A noun may belong to a given class because of the characteristic features of its referent, such as gender, animacy, shape, but counting a given noun among nouns of such or another class is often clearly conventional. Some authors use the term "grammatical gender" as a synonym of "noun class", but others use different definitions for each.

²¹ *Principles of Correspondance* by Eugene Nida, 126-140 *The Translation Studies Reader*, Lawrence Venuti (ed), published by Routledge 2000

²² Eugene Nida (1945) *Linguistics and Ethnology in Translation-Problems*, published online 04 Dec 2015.
[source: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1945.11659254>]

²³ Squirrel is called 'Kajtho mufika' in Odiya which literally means 'the mouse of woods' but squirrel is called 'kath birali' in Bangla which means 'the cat of woods' which entails that the Semantic Strategy of these two languages are completely in naming Rodents.

- A fourth factor has been the emphasis upon the stylistic and literary factors of translation, so that one often receives the erroneous impression that translation is basically an art rather than a science.”

“Translation-problems, which are essentially problems of equivalence, may be conveniently treated under (1) ecology, (2) material culture, (3) social culture, (4) religious culture, and (5) linguistic culture.” Nida (1945:196)

So the translator must be aware of the contrastive features governing both the languages of ST and TT.

5. Feluda

5.1. Development of Feluda Series

Feluda Series is written by the famous Bangla Film Director Satyajit Ray. He started writing the Feluda series in 1965 and the last novel was written in 1991. There are total 16 novels, 8 novellas and 11 stories in the series all of which are translated and compiled in the book *Complete Adventures of Feluda* part 1 and 2. The 3 unfinished stores of Feluda are not translated.

5.2. Development of the Translated series

As mentioned earlier that the Feluda stories were first translated in English by Chitrita Banerji (in the book *The Adventures of Feluda* (published by Penguin books in 1988). This book had 3 novels and 1 stories namely *The Golden Fortress* (Same title in *Complete Adventures of Feluda*), *The Buccaneer of Bombay* (***The Bandits of Bombay***), *Trouble in Graveyard* (***The Secret of the Cemetery***), and *Mystery at Golok Lodge* (***The Mysterious Tenant***). The remaining translations were done by Gopa Majumdar which appeared in²⁴:

- *The Emperor's Ring: The Further Adventures of Feluda* (1993)
- *The Mystery of the Elephant God: More Adventures of Feluda* (1994)
- *Feluda's Last Case and Other Stories* (1995)
- *The House of Death and Other Feluda Stories* (1997),
- *The Royal Bengal Mystery and Other Feluda Stories* (1997)
- *The Mystery of the Pink Pearl: The Final Feluda Stories* (1998).

The Magical Mystery was published in Indigo, a collection of Ray's short stories, in 2000. However, in the book *Complete Adventures of Feluda* part 1 and 2 the new translations of *The Golden Fortress*, *The Bandits of Bombay*, *The Secret of the Cemetery*, and *The Mysterious Tenant* done by Gopa Majumdar were added and the series was arranged chronologically.

5.3. Chronology of the Feluda series

Feluda Samagra part: 1/ Complete Adventures of Feluda part 1		
Year of first Publication and Publisher	Original title	English title
<i>Sandesh</i> , December 1965—February 1966	<i>Feludar Goyendagiri</i>	<i>Danger in Darjeeling</i>
<i>Sandesh</i> , May 1966—May 1967	<i>Badshahi Angti</i>	<i>The Emperor's Ring</i>

²⁴ Source: *Complete Adventures of Feluda* published by Penguin books

<i>Sharadiya Sandesh</i> , 1967	<i>Kailash Chowdhury'r Pathar</i>	<i>Kailash Chowdhury's Jewel</i>
<i>Sandesh</i> , Summer issue, May—June 1970	<i>Sheyal Debota Rohosyo</i>	<i>The Anubis Mystery</i>
<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1970	<i>Gangtoke Gondogol</i>	<i>Trouble in Gangtok</i>
<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1971	<i>Sonar Kella</i>	<i>The Golden Fortress</i>
<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1972	<i>Bakso Rohosyo</i>	<i>Incident on the Kalka Mail</i>
<i>Sharadiya Sandesh</i> , 1973	<i>Samaddarer Chabi</i>	<i>The Key</i>
<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1973	<i>Kailashe Kelenkari</i>	<i>A Killer in Kailash</i>
<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1974	<i>Royal Bengal Rohosyo</i>	<i>The Royal Bengal Mystery</i>
<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1975	<i>Joy Baba Felunath</i>	<i>The Mystery of the Elephant God</i>
<i>Sharadiya Sandesh</i> , 1975	<i>Ghurghutiyar Ghotona</i>	<i>The Locked Chest</i>
<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1976	<i>Bombaiyer Bombete</i>	<i>The Bandits of Bombay</i>
<i>Sharadiya Sandesh</i> , 1976	<i>Gosaipur Sargaram</i>	<i>The Mystery of the Walking Dead</i>
<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1977	<i>Gorosthane Sabdhan</i>	<i>The Secret of the Cemetery</i>
<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1978	<i>Chhinnamastar Abhishap</i>	<i>The Curse of the Goddess</i>

Table: 1 Feluda series chronology [Source: *Feluda Samagra* part 1 and *Complete adventures of Feluda* part 1]

Feluda Samagra part: 2/ Complete Adventures of Feluda part 2		
Year of first Publication and Publisher	Original title	English title
<i>Sharadiya Sandesh</i> , 1979	<i>Hatyapuri</i>	<i>The House of Death</i>
<i>Sandesh</i> May—August 1980	<i>Golokdham Rohosyo</i>	<i>The Mysterious Tenant</i>

<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1980	<i>Joto Kando Kathmandute</i>	<i>The Criminals of Kathmandu</i>
<i>Sharadiya Sandesh</i> , 1981	<i>Napoleoner Chithi</i>	<i>Napoleon's Letter</i>
<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1982	<i>Tintoretor Jishu</i>	<i>Tintoretto's Jesus</i>
<i>Anandamela</i> 4 May—15 June 1983	<i>Ambar Sen Antordhan Rohosyo</i>	<i>The Disappearance of Ambar Sen</i>
<i>Sharadiya Sandesh</i> , 1983	<i>Jahangirer Swarnamudra</i>	<i>The Gold Coins of Jahangir</i>
<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1984	<i>Ebar Kando Kedarnathe</i>	<i>Crime in Kedarnath</i>
<i>Sharadiya Sandesh</i> , 1985	<i>Bosepukure Khunkharapi</i>	<i>The Acharya Murder Case</i>
<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1986	<i>Darjeeling Jamjamat</i>	<i>Murder in the Mountains</i>
<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1987	<i>Bhuswarga Bhoyonkor</i>	<i>Peril in Paradise</i>
<i>Sandesh</i> December 1995—February 1996	<i>Indrajal Rohosyo</i>	<i>The Magical Mystery</i>
<i>Sharadiya Sandesh</i> , 1987	<i>Apsara Theaterer Mamla</i>	<i>The Case of Apsara Theatre</i>
<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1988	<i>Shakuntalar Kanthahaar</i>	<i>Shakuntala's Necklace</i>

Table: 2 Feluda series chronology [Source: *Feluda Samagra* part 2 and *Complete adventures of Feluda* part 2]
(continued)

Feluda Samagra part: 2/ Complete Adventures of Feluda part 2 (continued)		
<i>Sharadiya Sandesh</i> , 1990	<i>DR. Munshir Diary</i>	<i>DR. Munshi's Diary</i>
<i>Sharadiya Sandesh</i> , 1989	<i>Golapi Mukta Rohosyo</i>	<i>The Mystery of the Pink Pearl</i>
<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1989	<i>London Feluda</i>	<i>Feluda in London</i>

<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1990	<i>Nayan Rohosyo</i>	<i>The Mystery Of Nayan</i>
<i>Sharadiya Desh</i> , 1992	<i>Robertsoner Ruby</i>	<i>Robertson's Ruby</i>
Unfinished writings of Feluda		
<i>Sharadiya Sandesh</i> , 1996	<i>Tota Rohosyo</i> (first and second draft)	Not translated
<i>Sharadiya Sandesh</i> , 1995	<i>Baksho Rohosyo</i> (first draft)	Not translated
<i>Sharadiya Sandesh</i> , 1997	<i>Aditya Bardhaner Abishkar</i>	Not translated

Table: 2 Feluda series chronology [Source: *Feluda Samagra* part 2 and *Complete adventures of Feluda* part 2] (continued)

The chronology of the Feluda Series followed here is mentioned in the Introduction of ‘*Feluda Somogro*: part 1’ by Sandip Ray. However, the publication time and the Chronology are not in the same order. Some of the stories in the *Feluda Somogro* Chronology is altered in the *Complete adventures of Feluda*.

6. Comparative Analysis of Series

In this section I am going to inquire about the changes and alterations seen in each of the Feluda stories. In the very first story *Feludar Goyendagiri /Danger in Darjeeling* certain changes are seen in the TT.

On the very first section of the story order of sentences are changed. For example: the narrator describes the character Rajenbabu as a person with grey hair, fair complexion and amiable in nature but in the English text, the narrator starts describing him as an amiable person then describes his physical appearance. The second change in the TT (which is seen very often) is the paragraph breaks; the number of paragraphs in the Translated version are much more than the Original version. Other changes in the TT include omission of adjectives, discourse particles²⁵ of Bangla etc. The name of the newspaper which Tinkori Babu reads while sitting in Darjeeling Mall is not mentioned in the TT. In the ST the narrator was trying to read the news on Football from Tinkori Babu’s paper which is not specified in the TT. The sentence used in TT is

“I was trying to lean over his shoulder and look at the sports page, when Rajen Babu arrived panting and collapsed on the empty portion of our bench, next to Tinkori Babu. He looked visibly shaken.” [p.1]

During detection of the threatening letter which Rajen Babu received it is found that the word of the letter was compiled from cuttings of different newspaper and books. Here a problem arises, the TT dialogue between Feluda and Tinkori Babu says:

“ ‘Yes. Can you guess what those different sources might be?’
‘These two words—“prepared” and “pay”—appear to be a newspaper.’

²⁵ A **discourse particle** is a word or a phrase that plays a role in managing the flow and structure of discourse. These words do not have any specified meaning if they are used outside the domain of discourse.

‘Right. *Ananda Bazar*.’

‘How can you tell?’

‘Only *Ananda Bazar* uses that typeface.’ ” [as narrated by Topshe, p.8]

Ananda Bazar Patrika is a Bangla newspaper and it is quite impossible to collect English words from a Bangla Newspaper. Some other alterations are also seen. For example: the narrator describes his age as thirteen and half and Feluda is double of his age in the ST but in the TT (as quoted earlier) the narrator specifies Feluda’s age as twenty seven. A certain line (used in the context of Feluda vocabulary) in ST ‘Feluda ota prai bæbohar kore t̪ʰake’ (Feluda uses the term quite often) is translated as ‘Feluda was quite partial to the word’.

On the first two stories Feluda is said to be the son of the narrator’s maternal aunt but on the third story Feluda introduces Topshe as his paternal uncle’s son in the Original series but this shift of relationship status between the narrator and the sleuth is not seen in the TT. From the very first story Topshe address Feluda as his cousin without specifying the family relationship status.

In the second story *Badshahi Angti /The Emperor’s Ring* the character Dhuru is addressed as Dhuru Kaka by the narrator in the ST which remains unaltered in the TT. The term ‘Dhuru Kaka, could have been ‘Dhuru Uncle’ in the TT, this phenomena of addressing is seen all over the series, the expressions ‘Baba’(Father/Dad), ‘Dada’ (brother), ‘Babu’ (an expression used to address a gentle in Bangla) remains unaltered in the TT.

A certain Bangla term ‘unun’ (an oven made of clay widely used in India which requires coal, wood or jute sticks are fuel to cook food) is translated as ‘Angeethee’ (the hindi translation of the word) in the TT. Again, in the eleventh section of the story Bonobihari Babu does a beautiful wordplay of Bangla words with their English translations which is entirely omitted in the TT.

In the third story *Kailash Chowdhury’s Pathar/Kailash Chowdhury’s Jewel*, Feluda starts detecting professionally. In the ST Feluda’s client Kailash Chowdhury wrote a book based on his real life hunting experiences which is mentioned as ‘shikar kahini’ which remains unchanged in the TT. This expression could have been translated as ‘Hunting Stories’ or ‘Hunting experiences’.

The fourth story of the series is *Sheyal Debota Rohosyo/The Anubis Mystery*. A religious song in Bangla ‘bøl ma țara d̪āɽai koʰa/Amar k̪eho nai s̪ɔŋkori heʰa’ (the song is addressed to goddess *Kali*²⁶ asking her help to find a way) is translated as

“Help me, Mother for I have no one to turn to . . .” [p. 131]

The term ‘t̪olp̪et’ (lower abdomen) is translated as ‘stomach’ in English.

The fifth story of the series is *Gangtoke Gondogol/Trouble in Gangtok*.

In this story not much differences or alterations (except for some culture specific terms) are found in the TT. This might be because of the presence of the character Helmut Ungar (a hippie from Germany) and DR. Baidya (a psychic who is bilingual) and many conversations are in English in the ST.

Sonar Kella/The Golden Fortress is the sixth story of the series.

An exception is found on the sixth story. I mentioned earlier the expressions ‘Baba’ (Father/Dad), ‘Dada’ (brother) remains unaltered in the TT, however Sidhu Jyatha (Siddheshwar Bose) is referred as Uncle Sidhu in the TT. An interesting term in Bangla *Jatishswar*²⁷ (d̪ɔtiʃʃwar) remains unaltered in the TT. This might be because of the fact that in English there is no equivalent term to this expression but it could have been said that the character Mukul Dhar claims him to be re-incarnated as he remembers events of his past life. As I mentioned earlier Sidhu Jyatha often play with words which is mentioned

²⁶ Kali also known as *Kālikā* or *Shyāmā*, is a Hindu goddess. Kali is one of the ten Mahavidyas a list which combines Sakta and Buddhist goddesses.

²⁷ An expression to describe a person who remembers his past life i.e., a re-incarnated person

in the ST of this story is omitted in the TT.

The seventh story of series is *Bakso Rohosyo/Incident on the Kalka Mail*.

The story begins with a sentence containing the expression ‘lomk^hāṛa’ (something which causes goose bumps) which is translated as ‘hair raising’ in the TT. In my perception the translated term does not make any sense because for both non-native speakers of Bangla and native speakers of English. This term will not convey the feeling the author wanted to share as the sentence in the ST describes the expression of astonishment the narrator face while reading the story of an expedition by Captain Scott. Not much changes is seen further in this story.

The next story of the series is *Samaddarer Chabi/The Key*

An expression (said by Sadhan, a 7 year old kid to describe the nature of Radharaman Samadder). ‘mad^hε mad^hε kharap’ (sometimes bad) is translated as ‘I liked him a lot but sometimes he annoyed me’. A discourse between Feluda and Topshe regarding the technicalities of *Sargam*²⁸ given in the ST is omitted in the TT. In the culmination of this story the narrator describes Feluda’s intelligence as ‘razor-sharp brain’ which is ‘jan dewa budd^hi’ (a term used to describe the quality of intelligence in Bangla) in the ST.

Kailashe Kelenkari/A Killer in Kailash is the next story of the series.

In this story Feluda talks about *Mahabharata* and *Kurukshetra* in a conversation with Topshe which remains unaltered in the TT. Topshe creates the word ‘pāṭican’ [a neologism created by using the initial phonemes of Bangla numeric system] to remember the number of a car. pāṭican = pānc+tin+car+noy i.e., Five+ three+four+nine this is omitted in the TT ,the Neologism in English using the same strategy would have been fi+th+fo+n= ‘fithfon’. Also the word *Khicudi*²⁹ is translated as *Kedgerie*³⁰.

The next story of the series is *Royal Bengal Rohosyo/The Royal Bengal Mystery*

This story starts with the rhyme which is later revealed to be a riddle to locate the treasure of Singha Roy Family. The similar pattern of beginning is seen in the TT story but the Rhyme is not literally translated, not even translated ‘Sense to Sense’, in a word the rhyme is totally different from the ST one. Since the rhyme is changed, the location of the treasure in the TT has changed too. Many sections of this story is not translated, rather adapted from the Original. In the Original Version of this Story a lot of references from the *Mahabharata* which has been completely omitted in the TT. The word ‘caritabid^han’³¹ is mentioned as ‘Dictionary’ in the TT. Jatayu mistakenly dedicates one of his works ‘In memory of Tenzing Norgay’ (who was alive in 1974) which is changed to ‘In memory of Sir Edmund Hillary’ in the TT.

Joy Baba Felunath/The Mystery of the Elephant God is the next story of the series.

This is one of the most popular stories of Feluda. In the original story Feluda describes the atmosphere of Kashi by defining the smells of different locations in the city which is kept unchanged in the TT. In this story the most dangerous enemy of Feluda Maganlal Meghraj is introduced, as I mentioned earlier Maganlal Meghraj is multilingual and often code mixes among Bangla, Hindi and English , but this code-mixing is totally absent in the TT. In the ST a neologism ‘āṣopæt^hi’ (treatment of diseases by using fish scales) is translated as ‘fisopathy’ which could have been ‘scalopathy’ (āṣ means fish scales). In a certain monologue *Macchli Baba* describes the Indian numeric system taking elements from Hindu Mythology which is totally changed in the TT. This portion of the story is adapted.

The following story of in the series is *Ghurghutiyar Ghotona/The Locked Chest*.

²⁸ Bangla term of Octave i.e., the interval between one musical pitch and another with double its frequency.

²⁹ A preparation made in India mixing Rice and Pulses along with vegetables

³⁰ An European dish of flaked, smoked haddocks, egg and rice

³¹ A type of Pictionary with pictures and names of renowned person

In this story too Feluda had to solve the riddle *Trinayan o Trinayan ektu jiro* to get the combination '39039820' in the ST but in the TT the riddle is totally different. The TT riddle is 'Shut the door, O big fat hen!' which is decoded by Feluda taking reference from the famous poem 'One two, Buckle my Shoe' and the combination obtained from the riddle of TT is '340910' as in 'Three four, Shut the Door', O meaning Zero and 'Nine ten, Big fat hen'. In spite of not being literally translated this riddle captures the essence of the story very well.

Bombaiyer Bombete/The Bandits of Bombay is the next story of the series.

As this story is set in Mumbai most of the characters code mixes Hindi long with Bangla which again is absent on the TT. Jatayu out of nervousness mixes up Bangla and English and says 'hāyes' [hã (which means yes in Bangla) + yes] which is mentioned as 'Ye-ye-yes' in the TT and in another situation he mixes up Bangla and Hindi out of excitement and says 'ginbo'[ginlũ (count them)+ gunbo (count them)] which is mentioned as 'c-count them'. Rest of the story is not much changed.

The following story is *Gosaipur Sargaram/The Mystery of the Walking Dead*.

This story is set on a small village and many of characters speak in a different dialect of Bangla which is not seen in the translated version. The astrologer who claims to bring the dead i.e., Mriganka Bhattacharya makes riddle out of Feluda's birth name as $\text{fond}^h\text{ya } \text{fofi } \text{bond}^h\text{u}$ in the ST. Pradosh is a synonym of the word ' fond^hya ' (Evening) in Bangla similarly 'Chandra' is fofi (moon) and Mitra (though Feluda uses the surname Mitter, a different spelling variety of the surname Mitra) is bond^hu (Friend) this riddle is changed in the TT. In the TT the astrologer says 'whose initials are sixteenth third and thirteenth' i.e., 16th alphabet P, 3rd alphabet C and 13th alphabet M. This riddle could have been 'who is a Friend of the Moon of Evening'. The astrologer further makes a riddle of Feluda's profession which is ' $\text{fukk}^h\text{o } \text{fal } \text{foffo}$ ' in the ST. fukk^ho means 'onu'(tiny), fal means ' fon ' (Bangla year) and foffo refers to d^han (foffo means crop in Bangla and d^han means paddy, which is the main crop of West Bengal) together it means ' $\text{onufond}^h\text{an}$ ' (investigation). This riddle also is changed in the TT as 'you simply seek the truth'. This riddle could have been 'you spend money to buy tea from the passageway' which could be decoded as 'spend money'=Invest, 'tea' = ti 'the passageway'= gate, putting the words together the sentence means 'you investigate'.

Feluda also makes a riddle of Jatayu's name in the ST.

Raktoboron (red in colour) = Lal (red)

Mugd^hokoron (the one who mesmerize) = mohon (mesmerizing)

Nodipaſe (Riverside) = Gang (Riverbank)

Jaha bīd^hle mōron (which causes death) = guly or guli (bullet)

This riddle is omitted in the TT. This riddle in a translated form could have been 'The attractive red of the marble gang' i.e. 'the attractive red' as Lalmohan 'the marble'³² gang' as Ganguly.

The second last story of the first book is *Gorosthane Sabdhan/The Secret of the Cemetery*.

The story is set on Kolkata and the mystery is regarding the grave of a British (who came to India during Colonisation) and a secret related to his family. As the plot suggest many terms in the ST are in English and thus not much change is seen in the TT except for the Linguistic and culture specific terms.

Chhinnamastar Abhishap/The Curse of the Goddess is the last story of the first part.

A certain riddle written in English alphabets which creates Bangla sentences is changed in the TT. 'OKAHA, RKAHA, LOKC' (which Jatayu thinks Japanese) is decoded by Feluda as 'o ke eyec^hε?' (who came?), 'ar ke eyec^hε³³' (who else?), 'elokeji' (a girl with very long and untied hair, a female

³²Marble a small spherical ball of rock is also called guly in Bangla

³³εyec^hε is a dialectal variation of the word εsec^hε in Bangla

name in Bangla). The TT cipher in this context is: ‘XLNC, XL, XPDNC, NME, OICURMT’ which is decoded by Feluda as ‘Excellency, Excel, Expediency, Enemy’ and ‘O I see you are Empty’. The TT also includes Anagrams and Antigrams which are not mentioned in the ST:

‘Revolution	to love ruin
Telegraph	great help
Astronomers	no more stars
Festival	evil fast
Funeral	real fun’ [p.798]

In this story too Lalmohan babu mixes up 3 words (while playing a game) and says ‘*Bengur*’ which he later describes as *Belun* (balloon), *Byang* (frog) and *Hangor* (shark) which is translated as ‘*Bafrosh*’ in TT (The initial phonemes of Balloon, Frog and Shark). The servant of the guesthouse (where the trio stays) Bulakiprasad pronounces Majestic Circus as *Majisti* (A dialectal difference) which is omitted in the TT. The character Mahesh Chowdhury addresses his first son as ‘*tekka*’ (ace) and third son as ‘*tiri*’ (trey) which remains unchanged in the TT, also in his diary he codes his bad habits with respect to ‘*saraṭipu*’ (the six deadly sins) which too remains unaltered in the TT.

The second part of the series starts with the story *Hatyapuri/The House of Death*.

In this story the narrator informs about Feluda’s new habit of writing limericks and he writes one Limerick about Jatayu’s monotonous story plots in the ST.

‘budʒʰɛ dækh jatayur kɔlomer dʒor
gʰurɛ gæcʰɛ rɔhoʃʃo kahinir mor
tʰor boṛi kʰaṛa
likʰɛ ṭaṛaṭaṛa
eibarɛ likʰɛchen kʰaṛa boṛi tʰor’

In the TT it is mentioned that Feluda starts writing limerick but the ‘limerick’ written for Lalmohan babu is not mentioned.

After going to Puri, Lalmohan babu recites a poem standing on the beach.

“aṭimer daak juṇi kallol mormore ,
æk payɛ kʰaṛa tʰaki æka balucɔrɛ”

This poem is literally translated as:

“In these roaring waves,
I hear the call of infinity;
when on these sandy beaches,
stand I, so eagerly,
on one leg.”[p. 7-8]

Though the TT poem doesn’t rhyme like the Original one but the sense of the Original poem is kept intact. He recites another poem in this story which is not literally translated but the poem rhymes well keeping the sense of the original poem intact.

The second story of the second book is *Golokdham Rohosyo/The Mysterious Tenant*.

This starts with a *Mahabharata* quiz session between Topshe and Feluda, where Feluda is the Quizmaster and Topshe is the student which remains unchanged in the TT. The word ‘*astro*’ (weapon) is translated as ‘missile’, ‘*almari*’ (almirah) is translated as ‘safe’. There are certain specifications (like name of places, amount of rent) are omitted in the TT. In this story the narrator uses some adjectives in Bangla to describe Uncle Sidhu’s intelligence those are omitted in TT. In this story. In this the narrator mentions Jatayu’s bad pronunciations and how Feluda taught him to improve. Feluda asks Jatayu to recite ‘*baṛo hāṭi ṭabṭi boṛo barabari*’ which is mentioned as ‘pick up these sixty-six thistle sticks’.

The next story of the series is *Joto Kando Kathmandute/The Criminals of Kathmandu*.

The word gʰāti (outpost, depot) usually used to describe the base point of some institution (mainly

³⁶ Yatra is a type of theatre very popular in West Bengal with either 3 or 4 sides open stage.

observed in this story, for example Topshe describes the hair colour of Indranarayan as ‘Mat^har cul prai j̄ob-e kalo’ (almost all of the hairs are black) which in the TT became ‘his hair had only started to turn grey’. It is seen the sentences have a total different structure and interpretation. Another interesting thing in this story is Kandarpanarayan (Grandfather of Indranarayan) names his violin made by Nicolo Amati³⁷ as ‘am ātir bhēpu’³⁸ which is translated as ‘The strings of Amity’.

Darjeeling Jamjomat/Murder in the Mountains is the next story of the series.

Numerical specifications are translated as ‘few’, ‘couple’ in the TT. Many sentences are omitted because this particular story has lines which very much culture specific. A Bangla idiom ‘nei mamar cēye kana mama b^halo’ is translated into its intended meaning ‘something is better than nothing’. In this story too Jatayu recites a poem describing the beauty of ‘Kanchenjunga’ which is omitted in the TT. In a sequence, a famous Bangla play ‘Bhusundir Mathe’³⁹ is mentioned in the ST but the play name is not specified in the TT and as a result the dialogues of this play said by Jatayu in this story are omitted too. Lalmohan babu uses a number of adjectives to describe the serenity of Kanchenjunga which are not literally translated but equivalent English adjectives are mentioned in the TT.

The next story of the series is *Bhuswarga Bhoyonkor/Peril in Paradise*

This story starts with a conversation between Jatayu and Feluda where Jatayu describes the heat of the temperature of Kolkata as ‘gongone’ which is translated as ‘infernally’. The term ‘baro maṣ’ (twelve months) is translated as ‘all year’ and the term *Bhuswarga* is translated as ‘Paradise on Earth’. The last one might be because of the reason that English doesn’t have single expression for the term *Bhuswarga*. Again the term ‘din ponero (15 days)’ is translated as a ‘couple of weeks’ in the TT. The next alteration of translation is the term ‘galmondo’ (abuse) is translated as ‘make fun of me’ in the TT. The idiom in Bangla ‘ṭ^hoṭ boṭi k^haṛa k^haṛa boṭi ṭ^hoṭ’ which means monotonous is omitted in the TT. In this story Lalmohan babu again recites a poem which is not translated along with some dialogues. The word ‘bojra (the bangla term for a luxurious houseboat to travel by a waterbody)’ is not translated in the TT, it written as ‘baujra’. The word ‘bhaggis’ (an expression in Bangla to thank luck) is converted into a sentence ‘you have to thank me for this.’

The next story *Indrajal Rahasya/The Magical Mystery* happens to be the last published story of the Feluda series but the story was written 1987⁴⁰ i.e., 4 years before the last story. When arranged chronologically as per the writing time this story appears in between *Bhuswarga Bhoyonkor/Peril in Paradise* and *Apsara Theaterer Mamla/The Case of Apsara Theatre*

This starts during a magic show where the narrator describes ‘6 anna’ of the sitting arrangement of the hall was empty. In Bangla measurement of percentage is often done by using the ‘anna’ metric system [16anna - 100 %] so 6 anna roughly measure 37.5% which in the TT is mentioned as ‘about 30%’. The word *Swapratibha* (dapper) is translated as ‘quiet smart’. The word ‘raja’ (king) is kept ‘rajah’ in the TT, the word ‘aschordzo’ (strange) is translated as ‘how amazing’ in the TT. The word ‘ḍaroyan’ (security guard) is translated as *Chowkidaar*. One of Feluda’s expression (as said by the narrator) is changed into a dialogue in the TT. The term ‘Boḍzraghat’ (thunderstrike) is translated as ‘Bolt from blue’.

Apsara Theaterer Mamla/The Case of Apsara Theatre is the next story.

In the beginning of this story the narrator says how much pleased is Feluda after watching the Sherlock Holmes series in Television. The conversation between Jatayu and Feluda takes place where again the

³⁷ Nicolò Amati (December 3, 1596 – April 12, 1684) was the son of Girolamo Amati, born to a family of violin maker in Italy. He was the most eminent violin maker of his family.

³⁸ ‘am ātir bhēpu’ is a section of the novel *Pather panchali* written by Bibhutibhusan Bandopadhyay.

³⁹ *Bhusundir Mathe* was written by Rajshekar Bose, the story involves after life story of the character shibu bhotto and various other ghosts

⁴⁰ As told by Sandip Ray in the introduction of *Feluda somogro* part 1

idiom ‘ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{o}\text{r}\text{ } \text{bo}\text{r}\text{i}\text{ } \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{a}\text{r}\text{a}\text{ } \text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{a}\text{r}\text{a}\text{ } \text{bo}\text{r}\text{i}\text{ } \text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{o}\text{r}$ ’ is used to define the plots of novels written by Jatayu which is translated as ‘his plots did not show a great deal of originality or variety’. The client, Mohitosh Roy receives a threat ‘Ar somoy nei, Ebar iftonam jop koro’ (No time left, start praying your god) which is translated as ‘This is the end. Say your last prayers.’ In this story too some dialogues are not translated. The adjective ‘ogotta’ (to do something without a choice) is omitted in the TT. Some characters in the TT are addressed by their surname but that is not the case of the ST. The term ‘jorbonefe k^habor’ (disastrous news) is converted to a sentence ‘I don’t believe this’.

The next story of the series is *Shakuntalar Kanthahaar/Shakuntala's Necklace*

This is one of the very few stories of Feluda with a prominent female character Mary Sheela, she is a native Christian and (as described by the narrator in the ST) doesn’t read Bangla fiction except for ‘Feluda series’ which is not mentioned in the TT. A term ‘ $\text{c}\text{o}-\text{f}\text{a}\text{t}\text{ } \text{puru}\text{j}$ ’ (6-7 generations) is translated as ‘several generations’. ‘ $\text{t}\text{i}\text{n}\text{ } \text{lak}$ ’ (3 lakhs) is translated as three hundred thousand. A discourse particle ‘Arrebbas’ (to express sudden excitement) is translated as ‘Good heavens’. The language spoken by the character Hector Jayanta Biswas is said as ‘Bangla with a western accent’ by the narrator which is omitted in the TT. The term ‘dibbi golpo’ (a good chat) is translated as ‘deep conversation’. A description about the dress code is mentioned in the ST which is omitted in the TT. The ST has a reference of the famous Bangla novel *Kopalkundala* (written by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee) which is again omitted in the TT. The term ‘ $\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{org}^{\text{h}}\text{or}$ ’ (brattle sound) is translated as ‘noisily’ in the TT.

DR. Munshir Diary/DR. Munshi's Diary is the next story of the series.

This is the only story of the Feluda series where the villain is a woman. Some of the discourse particles are omitted in this story like all other stories the term ‘ $\text{i}\text{d}-\text{er}-\text{c}\text{a}\text{d}$ ’ (the moon of eid) is translated as ‘crescent moon’. A diminutive⁴¹ term in Bangla ‘humki-tumki’ is translated as ‘threat’; a sentence in ST ‘so cut me out’ is translated as ‘leave me out of your book’. The narrator describes a man’s age as ‘Forty forty five’ in the ST which is translated as late thirties. The word ‘ $\text{onufocon}\text{a}$ ’ (regret after self-realization) is translated as ‘great pangs of conscience’.

The next story is *Golapi Mukta Rahasya/The Mystery of the Pink Pearl*

This story is set on multiples locations in India. Maganlal meghraj’s conversation with one of his jewellers is one of the best code-mixing of Hindi and Bangla which is totally omitted in the TT as the work is entirely translated in English. Lalmohan on Meghraj’s order sings a Rabindra sangeet “ $\text{aloker ei jhorna dharae dao}$ ” which is literally translated as “let all be awash in life”. The word used by Feluda ‘naturally’ which is translated ‘of course’ in the TT. Feluda says ‘ prato pronam ’ (morning ovation) as a sarcastic comment to Lalmohan ganguly which is translated ‘Good morning’ in the TT.

Londone Feluda/Feluda in London is the next story of the series.

In this story many dialogues, information and descriptions are not mentioned in the TT. An expression ‘ $\text{c}^{\text{h}}\text{eleti bangali}$ ’ (the boy is bangali) is translated as ‘Boy is Indian’. The word ‘allopath’, is translated as ‘practices orthodox medicines’. The character DR. Jyotirmoy Sen says that family member thinks Feluda as their own i.e., ‘ $\text{ekrokom attiy}\text{o}$ ’ which is translated as ‘quite familiar to me’. The word ‘ acomka ’ (suddenly) is translated as ‘purely by chance’. The term ‘ $\text{ram shyam jodu modhu}$ ’ (to mean anyone) is translated with an equivalent expression in English ‘Tom Dick and Harry’. Jatayu enchants ‘ dugga dugga ’ (Bangali’s pray to Goddess Durga before commencement of a journey) is translated as ‘prayers’. Since the next part of the story is set in London not much alterations are found. After reaching Baker’s Street in London Feluda marks an imaginary place near to 221B (which is mentioned as 220 in TT) the famous address of Sherlock Holmes. He bows to his imaginary teacher of detection

⁴¹ A diminutive is a word that has been modified to convey a slighter degree of its root meaning, to convey the smallness of the object or quality named

and address him as ‘Guru’ (Lord/ Master) which remains unchanged in the TT.

The second last story of the Series is *Nayan Rahasya/The Mystery Of Nayan*

Minor alterations are found in the TT. The expression ‘madhyamik’ (secondary/ intermediary) is mentioned as ‘class x’ in the TT. Some dialogues have been added in the TT. The character Magician Sunil requests Feluda ‘ebar t̥heke amay apni na bole tumi bolben kindly’ (from now onward kindly address me as tumi not apni) which in the TT becomes ‘please call me Sunil’. This alteration is because of the absence of honorifics in English Syntax which is widely used in Bangla. Feluda addresses Lalmohan babu as Mr. Lalu which is not mentioned in the TT. Lalmohan babu (unaware of the fact that in American English ‘kid’ means ‘child’) says ‘son of a goat’ which is translated as ‘you take interest in young goat?’. The term ‘ekuf boc^hor’ (twenty one year) is translated as ‘more than twenty’. The term ‘ekomebaḍwiṭium’ (one and only, exclusively) is omitted in the TT. In the ninth section of the story the trio reaches Madras where Lalmohan babu makes many comments on the city which are mostly omitted in the TT. He also recites another poem written by Baikuntha Mallik which is not translated. The concluding lines of the story are changed.

The last story of the series is *Robertsoner Ruby/Robertson's Ruby*

In the last story of the series Feluda speaks about the location of the movie *Abhijaan*⁴², i.e., ‘mama bhagney pahar’ which remains unchanged in the TT. The word ‘swetango’ (pale skinned/white skinned) is mentioned as ‘European’ in the TT. The word ‘dhopa’ (washerman) is translated as ‘Dhobi’ (the Hindi term of dhopa) in the TT. The word ‘baul’⁴³ is translated as ‘haul’ in the TT which in my perception is a printing mistake otherwise the sentence doesn’t makes any sense. The presence of two foreigners in the story a lot of conversation is done in English. So much alterations are not seen. Jatayu recites a poem regarding ‘kopai’⁴⁴ which is literally translated in the TT.

There are 3 unfinished works of Feluda which are neither translated nor mentioned in *Complete Adventures of Feluda part 1 and 2*.

In my opinion *The Curse of the Goddess* is the best translated story in the Feluda series followed by *The Locked Chest* because these two stories in TT in spite of having Linguistic and Cultural changes captures the original essence of the ST very nice.

7. Observations

- In all of the translated works the most common change that has been widely observed is the omission of adjectives, most of the times Bangla adjectives which does not have English equivalence are either omitted or changed.
- Onomatopoeic expressions are either changed (with English equivalent) or omitted in the TT.
- Bangla discourse particles like b̥t̥e, to, eta etc. are omitted in the TT, though in some places English discourse particles are used i.e., foreignization of Bangla discourse particles.
- Domestication of Bangla food items are observed in the TT, for ex *Daalmut*, *Kochuri* etc. The same strategy is observed for words which doesn’t have English equivalent. For ex. *Jatiswar*.
- The usage of certain Idioms, Limericks and poems are mostly omitted in the TT. Some of the poems recited by Lalmohan Ganguly have been translated literally.
- The paragraph breaks in the TT are quite more than that of the ST, also structural changes of paragraphs are seen in many cases.

⁴² A film directed by Satyajit Ray in 1962

⁴³ A special type of singers in Bengal who writes their song and sing while travelling from place o place

⁴⁴ The Kopai River is a tributary of the Mayurakshi River. It flows past such towns as Santiniketan, Bolpur, Kankalitala, Kirnahar and Labhpur in Birbhum district in the Indian state of West Bengal.

- g. In more or less all stories dual strategy of Translation (metaphrase and paraphrase) are incorporated according to the necessity.
- h. The stories which included solving cases via riddles are mostly adapted instead of being translated, which is because of the fact that the riddles if translated literally won't make any sense.
- i. Songs mentioned in the ST are either omitted or literally translated in the TT
- j. The TT lacks detailed description of characters. i.e., their clothes, complexion, personality etc.
- k. The language usage of Feluda seems to be more polite in the TT than ST (In the ST most of the times Feluda guides and chides Topshe which is not seen in the TT).
- l. In most of the cases word plays incorporated in the ST are either omitted or changed in TT. The neologism created by Ray in the ST are not seen in the TT.
- m. In the ST whenever the narrator addresses 'Jatayu' for the first time in each story he uses the expression 'rôhossô romance ouponnâjik' (mystery thriller novelist) before his name, but such adjective is used very rarely in the TT.
- n. Dialectal Variations spoken by characters incorporated in ST are totally not specified in the TT. Also the TT lacks bilingualism of most of the Characters.

8. Conclusion: The similarity between the ST and TT is the lucidity of the language. The Original Series was meant for teenagers and adolescents and thus the grammatical structure is not complex, the same pattern is observed in the TT. However, a lot of Linguistic alterations are seen which is very normal because the Phonemic inventory, Phonotactic rules of Bangla and English are very different. Culture specific alterations are also quite obvious since the cultural background of the languages are different. This work of translation, is meant for the readers whose mother tongue is Bangla but he/she cannot read or write the Language (in case of Bangali NRI kids). A non-Indian won't understand a single reference given in the translated work as all of the references are meant for Indians. Overall the entire series has a balance among Metaphrase, Paraphrase and Adaptation in an efficient way done by the translator.

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A Report on My Reflections of Insider and Outsider Position during Fieldwork in Malaysia

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ABSTRACT

The position of a researcher as both insider and outsider has been recognised as a fundamental issue in qualitative research because the credibility of research depends on the researcher's ability to reflect on and to be transparent about the methodological issues faced. Based on my fieldwork experience in Malaysia, this report provides an account of my reflections as an insider and outsider in the field. I discuss four issues using stories from my fieldwork: (1) field and home, (2) the "space of betweenness" when engaging with participants, (3) the interactions between participants and me during interviews, and (4) the drawbacks as an insider. These issues may impact on my interpretation of the findings and thus, I argue that it is important that a researcher exhibits a high degree of ethics and transparency regarding their position during fieldwork.

1. Introduction

The positioning of a researcher as an insider or outsider in the field is significant in qualitative research. According to Merriam, Johnson-Bailey, Lee, Kee, Ntseane, and Muhamad (2001), whether a researcher is considered as an insider or an outsider depends on the common features of a researcher and the participants in the community within the research site. An insider is a researcher who shares similar background characteristics, such as gender, ethnicity, race, and language belonging to a participating group, while an outsider is one who has different socioeconomic, historical, or ethnicity characteristics from the participants (Gair, 2012; Hayfield & Huxley, 2015; Rubin, 2012).

Scholars such as Kanuha (2000), Kusow (2003), and Merriam et al. (2001) state that insiders or outsiders in the field can experience advantages and disadvantages. An insider researcher usually gains easy access to the participants and is able to hold a more "open" interview with them within their community (Root, 1996). Some communities may hinder researchers who do not have any connection with them but are endeavouring to access hidden and closed information. In this case, an insider researcher has the advantage, leading to an in-depth understanding of the community studied. An insider researcher also has the ability to engage more effectively with the community while more easily respecting the cultural values and norms (Kusow, 2003). However, these benefits raise questions about objectivity and authenticity of the research because the insider researcher may have prior knowledge, which can bias the findings or cause the researcher to be too familiar with the community (Hellawell, 2006; Kanuha, 2000). Such a situation may affect the results of the research because the

information gained may be misrepresented (Labaree, 2002). At this point, an outsider researcher has more benefits because they are able to “stand back” and draw independent conclusions (Merriam et al., 2001). On the other hand, an outsider researcher may be criticised for a lack of understanding of the community studied, and this lack may play an unfavourable role in the research process. In short, the dilemma of an insider or outsider position in the field is unavoidable. Therefore, understanding the relevant dichotomies is useful in assisting a researcher to be aware of how the position of an insider or outsider can impact on the research process and interpretation of the findings.

In this report, I first give a description of the context of the fieldwork by stating the methodology used and the sociolinguistic background of the research site, Penang. Second, I provide my personal account of the co-existence of a researcher’s insider position (as a member of the Chinese community in Penang) and outsider position (as an academic researcher) based on my fieldwork in Penang. Third, I touch on the issue of how the position of an insider has helped me to efficiently conduct my fieldwork. Subsequently, I consider how the familiarity and trust existing between the participants and me are vital in mediating the interview. I also reflect on the language choices made by the participants in the interview and my response in catering for their choices. Last, examining some drawbacks as an insider researcher, I argue that while addressing the tensions and negotiations made during fieldwork, it is important to remind oneself of the position of an insider and outsider and to ensure a high degree of ethics and transparency throughout the research journey.

2. Context of the Fieldwork

In 2015, I began my research with the Chinese community in Malaysia. The impetus for this research interest was the communication difficulties, resulting from language policy shifts, that are currently taking place in many Malaysian Chinese families. This situation has developed because many Malaysian Chinese parents acknowledge the economic value of Mandarin Chinese and, consequently, send their children to Chinese-medium schools to receive a Chinese-medium education (Wang, 2014). Because they are concerned whether their children can “keep up” with the standard of Mandarin Chinese at school, these parents speak Mandarin Chinese to their children at home (Ting, 2006; Wang, 2016, 2017). This situation has resulted in a lack of opportunity for the children to learn their own variety of Chinese language (henceforth referred to in this report as “Chinese community languages”¹), such as Penang Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka, Teochew, Hainan, and Taishan. As a consequence, most of these children have difficulties communicating with their grandparents and great-grandparents. As a member of the Malaysian Chinese community, I am aware of the situation, and this awareness motivated me to investigate the current state of Chinese community languages in my hometown, Penang. For part of my doctoral research, I wanted to explore the efforts in official language planning that have been made in relation to language maintenance in the Penang Chinese community and the extent to which these efforts are supported by the local community.

My research project involved 46 participants, aged 30 and above, who speak at least one of the Chinese community languages mentioned. They were selected from three groups: (1) official actors, (2) community-based actors, and (3) grassroots actors. The first group of participants, official actors, are policymakers and researchers from the government research institutes. They represent the Penang Government and play important roles in managing legislation. The second group of participants, community-based actors, are representatives from Chinese clan associations,² and language promoters.

¹ In this research, the term ‘community languages’ is defined as “immigrant languages used...to emphasise the legitimacy of their continuing existence” (Clyne, 1991, p. 215). It is adopted in preference of other terms, such as ‘mother tongues’ and ‘ethnic or minority languages’.

² Clan association in this context refers to a Chinese ethnolinguistic group, such as Hokkien or Cantonese, forming their own associations to help with issues related to accommodation, food, writing letters back to China, and arrangement for funerals (Yen, 1981). They usually originated from the same

Although they lack the power to manage laws, they act as a bridge to support and promote language-related activities within the local community. The third and final group of participants, grassroots actors, are individuals selected to represent the five domains³ of family, friendship, religion, education, and employment. As part of the Chinese community in Penang, they play vital roles in understanding the laws enforced by the government and putting them into action.

Wanting to connect my family language issue to the language situation in Penang, I crafted a semistructured, interview-based qualitative study designed to understand the efforts made for the maintenance of Chinese community languages. Each interview lasted approximately 45 minutes. There were several reasons why I chose to conduct interviews (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Patton, 2002): first, interviews would allow me to find out what and how the participants think about Chinese community language maintenance in Penang, and discover things I could not directly observe; second, interviews would assist me to explore and understand my research in depth; and third, interviews could support those participants who were not fluent in writing to express their opinions.

To provide an understanding of the research site, I present some sociolinguistic and historical details: Penang is a multilingual, multiethnic, and multicultural state situated in Peninsular Malaysia. It is made up of two parts: Penang Island and Seberang Perai, with George Town as its capital city. The population of Penang is 1.76 million (Department of Statistics, 2018) and consists of Malays (42.3%), Chinese (39.4%), Indians (9.4%), and other ethnicities (8.9%). Bahasa Melayu, the sole national and official language of Malaysia (as instituted in the Federal Constitution of Malaysia), is also the official language of administration, education, and the legal system in Penang. English is taught in schools and used in most work places. Even though English is not an official language, it plays a pivotal role in Penang. The majority of Chinese in Penang represent the Chinese ethnolinguistic group, the Hokkiens, and make up approximately 64% of the overall Chinese population in Penang (Department of Statistics, 2010). They speak Penang Hokkien as their main medium of communication. Nevertheless, other Chinese community languages, such as Cantonese, Hakka, Hainan, Teochew, and Taishan, as well as Mandarin Chinese are also spoken by Penang's Chinese community.

The Chinese community's relationship with Chinese community languages began in their home country, China. The Chinese first set foot in Penang in the 17th century, when they escaped the Manchu invasion of Fujian Province, China. In 1786, Sir Francis Light officially founded Penang and established a free trading port in George Town. The port attracted many Chinese merchants to Penang because it allowed them to trade with Europeans and provided opportunities to expand trading activities. As trade flourished, it led the Chinese to settle and set up shops in George Town.⁴ The Chinese merchants also brought their community languages. With the establishment of the tin mining industry in Taiping, Perak, in the 18th century, more Chinese immigrants came to work as labourers. They then moved to bigger cities such as Penang to seek better jobs, and many eventually married and built homes in Penang. Most of the Chinese families in Penang have lived there for generations. This long-established history as a Chinese settlement provides Penang with a special cultural background for conducting the fieldwork.

3. Returning to Penang: "Field" and "Home"

Many students from Asia who are trained abroad, whether in the Northern or Southern hemisphere institutions, seek to return to their home countries for fieldwork (Giwa, 2015; Yakushko, Badiie,

village or province in China and spoke the same language.

³ The concept of domain, proposed by Joshua Fishman (1965), was employed in this research. It was mainly used to contextualise patterns of language use, language attitudes, and language choices in bilingual or multilingual communities. In this research, I adapted Fishman, Cooper, and Ma's (1971) five most important domains to suit the present-day investigation.

⁴ George Town is the capital of Penang.

Mallory, & Wang, 2011). Many are committed to the culture of learning and training abroad, then bringing the knowledge back to their homelands. I consider myself as part of this group of researchers. I grew up in Penang in a family of blue-collar workers. Due to my strong passion for linguistics, I decided to apply for a scholarship from abroad to pursue my doctoral study. I was fortunate to be given an opportunity to study in Australia. However, I remained strongly attached to my hometown and community, especially because through my family and friends, I was aware of the language situation in Penang.

The trip to “return home” for fieldwork in 2016 was exciting, providing me with the chance to escape from the endless reading and writing tasks in my PhD hub and to show my family and friends, as well as the Chinese community in Penang, that understanding maintenance efforts for Chinese community languages is an important issue in the field of language maintenance and language shift. However, I was aware that “doing fieldwork” at home would be challenging and, at times, the challenges may hinder me from realising the research aims and goals. I constantly reminded myself that conducting fieldwork in my hometown and with my own ethnic community would not be an easy task.

When I first designed my research, my colleagues asked where the fieldwork would take place. When I informed them that I would like to return home for fieldwork, they questioned me on how I would compare my hometown as both “field” and “home”. Katz (1994) contended that there should be no fixed boundary between “field” and “home” because the researcher should always consider themselves to be in the field. In other words, “home” can act as “field”, where the research takes place and knowledge is communicated. For Till (2001), while conducting fieldwork in Berlin, her “home” became “field”—she found that thoroughly knowing the city was useful to her research. She also revisited some of her favourite places in Berlin—in this case, Berlin became her “home”.

In the case of my research, Penang was my “home”; it is my hometown, where I grew up and went to school. Thus, I was considered as an insider because I was a resident in Penang and part of the Chinese community. Because Penang was my “home”, I had my connections with the Chinese community many of whom had lived there since birth. I also found myself familiar with the physical landscape of Penang—I knew the names of the streets and the shops in George Town, as well as the location of the offices of various Chinese clan associations. At the same time, Penang was also a “field”—it was the research site where I conducted my fieldwork. In the field, I was an outsider because I recruited participants from Penang’s Chinese community and conducted interviews with them to understand the language maintenance efforts.

In short, given the dual nature in which Penang had become both “home” and “field” in my research, I often found myself placed within the “space of betweenness”. The lesson learnt is that when I employed my “home” as “field”, I was an insider Chinese and simultaneously an outsider researcher. As an insider and outsider, I became fully aware of the current Chinese community language situation in Penang.

4. The Complexities of “Space of Betweenness”

The notion of “space of betweenness” during fieldwork is related to how a researcher is separated from the research process yet is still associated with it (Rose, 1997). In other words, this space allows a researcher to position themselves as both insider and outsider, rather than insider or outsider (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Reflecting on their own fieldwork experiences, Gibson (2006), Rubin (2012), and Zhao (2017) stated that both insider and outsider positions constantly shift in a single research process. For example, Gibson (2006) found herself as an insider when sharing insights with participants regarding the Australian music industry and, at the same time, she was an outsider interviewing Indigenous musicians about their musical context. In such a situation, a researcher should be aware of and flexible

about their insider and outsider positions (Zhao, 2017).

According to Zhao (2017), working with the residents in a community is a common practice among many researchers who decide to return home to conduct fieldwork. In the case of my study, as a member of the Chinese community who grew up in Penang, I knew that they would welcome me home by accepting my invitation for interviews because they would consider me as part of their community and one who understands the Chinese culture and local practices. To gain access to the field, I made full use of my local knowledge to get in touch both with Penang Government policymakers and representatives from the Chinese clan associations. Moving around in Penang was not an issue because I knew the streets and suburbs well and had a car to drive to the interview locations. In addition, when I needed to speak in Bahasa Melayu to the secretaries in the government offices, I was able to do so because I am fluent in that language and was educated in Bahasa Melayu during my school days.

When I visited the policymakers in the government offices and the representatives from the Chinese clan associations, I was able to quickly establish a rapport with them because they trusted me as a Penangite and were enthusiastic about my study. My academic background as a doctoral student also afforded me a level of respect, and recognition that I was serious and passionate about my research. Due to the high level of familiarity and trust, these policymakers and representatives from the Chinese clan associations were willing to engage in an open interview and to disclose sensitive information regarding the legislation and implementation of the government policies. They did not treat me as an outsider researcher who intended to “steal” this sensitive information. Instead, they had lengthy discussions with me, and we all perceived the value of maintaining Chinese community languages in Penang. Moreover, they were keen to find strategies for raising community awareness regarding language maintenance. Their friendliness and positive engagement aligned with Kusek and Smiley’s (2014) claim that the position of an insider can provide the researcher with access to information that outsider researchers may not be able to gain.

Based on this experience, I knew the policymakers and Chinese clan representatives were gatekeepers in my fieldwork, and that positioned me as “a local resident and a researcher”. The lesson learnt is that the “space of betweenness” facilitated my research by allowing me to ethnically conduct interviews while maintaining a close but neutral stance between the participants and me. I also gained an understanding of my identity as a researcher and learnt about the fluidity and complexity of being simultaneously an insider and an outsider.

5. Interactions between Interviewees and Interviewer

Interviews played an important role in my research. As mentioned above, I recruited three groups of participants: (1) official actors, (2) community-based actors, and (3) grassroots actors. With the three groups of participants, I conducted semi-structured interviews. Before conducting the interviews, I prepared an interview guide in English⁶ for each group of participants. Some participants requested the guide in advance so that they could prepare for the interviews. In some cases where the participants were not fluent in English, I verbally translated the guide into their requested language during the interviewing process. By having the interview guide prepared, I, as a “researcher”, felt in control of the interviews rather than allowing the participants to discuss issues beyond the topic, and this led to fruitful interactions between the participants and me.

My language and cultural background as a Chinese growing up in Penang offered me many advantages in understanding the social norms, local cultural practices, and the different Chinese

⁵ Penangite is a local term to refer to the citizens of Penang.

⁶ The interview guide was prepared in English to align with the language used for the doctoral thesis.

community languages spoken within the community. In Chinese culture, the concept of ‘face’ is vital and related to social status (Lee-Wong, 2000). An individual may “lose face” when someone connected to the individual does not meet the social moral standards during conversations (Ho, 1976). Knowing the importance of the concept of “face” in Chinese culture, I was cautious when interviewing the participants and asking questions related to sensitive issues, such as politics and religion. This strategy ensured that the participants involved in my research, especially the high-ranked policymakers, did not “lose face”, which would break our rapport. In addition, it would also be unpleasant if the relationship between the participants and me “turned sour” during the interviews. Due to my considerate behaviour, I was introduced by those high-ranked policymakers to other contacts—Chinese community leaders. Such introduction helped me to obtain a more diversified pool of participants and build relationships for future research.

My ability to speak several languages was beneficial during the interviews. As a fluent speaker of two Chinese community languages, Penang Hokkien and Cantonese, together with Mandarin Chinese, English, and Bahasa Melayu, I was able to conduct all interviews without the help of interpreters. Moreover, with some older participants who could only speak either Penang Hokkien or Cantonese, it was a great opportunity to become closer to them and better understand the history of their families, the languages they spoke with their counterparts in China, the life they led during their youth, and the changes they observed in Malaysian politics before and after independence. Such interactions allowed me to gain an in-depth understanding of the language situation in Penang in the past and at present, and has helped me when analysing the data. Consequently, when frequent codeswitching and codemixing by the participants took place, I faced few challenges or language difficulties as a multilingual speaker. Such codeswitching and codemixing commonly occurs in a multilingual city such as Penang, and my ability to accommodate it has added authenticity to capturing the current state of Chinese community languages in Penang.

To sum up, using caution and care when conducting interviews was important in building relationships between the participants and me. In addition, being a multilingual speaker was also significant in my research in navigating the interviews and overcoming language challenges. The lesson learnt is that many sociolinguistic factors were involved during interactions between the participants and me but these factors were overcome by maintaining integrity and ethical behaviour. It is also important to find a way to connect participants and me in order to reach out for clarity in communication and to frame the links between one another’s language.

6. Drawbacks as an Insider

Ngaha (2016) mentioned that in the past, some researchers used to make false assumptions about what they observed. Such assumptions might be problematic (Hayfield & Huxley, 2015) because today, many communities who voluntarily participate in research would not tolerate such behaviour. If they know that researchers tend to have false assumptions about their communities, they would either not participate in the research, or withdraw during the research and not engage any further. Thus, it is important to not have assumptions when interacting with communities, especially when the researcher is an “insider” in the community. This situation is done to ensure an unbiased stance during analysis and interpretation of data.

In my case, as an “insider” in the Chinese community in Penang, it was hard not to maintain certain assumptions and beliefs about the Chinese community’s reaction towards the maintenance of the community languages. Such assumptions and beliefs were present because I have witnessed the language shift taking place in my own family, between my grandparents and their great-grandchildren. However, to ensure that ethical research was conducted, I constantly reminded myself before interviewing, and before coding and interpreting the interview transcripts, not to have a priori assumptions and beliefs about the maintenance issue of Penang’s Chinese community languages.

Holding a priori assumptions and beliefs may lead to interesting aspects of the data being overlooked or unintentionally neglected (LaSala, 2003). In addition, researchers may neglect to explore the examined issue in detail with participants during interviews because they have a priori assumptions and beliefs about it (LaSala, 2003).

Knowing that internal validity is an important feature in qualitative research as argued by Merriam (1998), and to avoid unnecessary criticisms about overlooked data, as stated by LaSala (2003), I did not take what I observed and explored for granted. Instead, I allowed my knowledge of this research topic to be discovered through the complexity of participants' interviews in order to present a comprehensive interpretation of the investigated phenomenon. By doing so, I found that some of the older generation members have adopted the trend of using Mandarin Chinese, and have taken the opportunity to learn Mandarin Chinese in order to communicate with their younger family members. Such findings have helped me to form my interpretation of the interview transcripts for the description of the "actual" language situation.

In short, the lesson learnt is that having false or a priori assumptions will "harm" the researcher. Participants may withdraw from the research and the interpretation of data in the next stage will not be accurate, leading to a biased analysis of the data. Thus, it is important to always be mindful that a researcher should not allow such assumptions to conceptualise their responses to the research and that they should be open to learning about their researched topics.

7. Takeaways from the Fieldwork

This report has narrated stories based on my fieldwork in Penang, Malaysia, in order to highlight four issues: (1) my insider and outsider position in the "field" and at "home", (2) the complexities of "space of betweenness", (3) the interactions between the participants and me during interviews, and (4) the drawbacks as an insider. These stories have shown that conducting research in one's own community was exciting and involving, yet challenging. There were many negotiations to be made before and during conducting the research. These negotiations demonstrated the dynamics and complexities a researcher faced as an insider and outsider in the field. On certain occasions, the insider and outsider position might have overshadowed each other. Nevertheless, the "spaces of betweenness", where one's position was separated from and belonged to the research (Rose, 1997), facilitated the research journey. It also allowed the researcher to distance themselves from the participants, while providing a degree of flexibility to be represented ethically in the field.

In summing up, I argue that the challenges faced as both an insider and outsider in the field should be positively approached because they can be turned into great experiences. As for me, these challenges have created awareness in me when conducting fieldwork. Because of them, I have demonstrated an ethical behaviour and transparency as part of the Chinese community in Penang and as a researcher from Australia keen to investigate the efforts of Chinese community language maintenance. It was also an honour to learn about and understand the situation of the Chinese community languages and to find ways to give back to my own community.

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SPATIAL ILLUSTRATION IN LANGUAGE: INSTANCES FROM BANGLA

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ABSTRACT

The understanding of space is one of the basic cognitive ability of a human being. The ability to understand and express spatial knowledge is in interplay with the contextual environment and language plays an important role in observation, expression and understanding of space, just as it always play in development of every concept, a reflection of which can also be found in the words of Albert Einstein when he said “the intellectual development of the human and their method of forming concepts depend largely on the language” (Steciag, 2013). One of the interesting and fascinating questions in the domain of space is to understand what extent of physical space is perceived, conceived and depicted in a language or using a language, i.e. how far the language is able to portray the ideas in cognition related to space. The importance of the issue in question of space and spatial cognition can be understood from the volume of works pertaining to various disciplines like Physics, Anthropology, Psychology, Social and cultural studies, Literature, Philosophy and metaphysics, etc., having a multidirectional relation with language (let’s say linguistics), into language, that have taken place resulting into a multifaced and multi-window approaches. The paper deals with this issue of how physical space is conceptualized and dealt within Bangla language.

1. Introduction

“Being able to find objects in the world is one of the most basic survival skills required by any living organism. Similarly, being able to describe where objects are and being able to find objects based on simple locative descriptions can be regarded as basic skills for a competent speaker of a language” (Coventry, Prat-Sala & Richards, 2001). Considerable cross-linguistic diversity exists in linguistic systems of spatial reference. The studies related to space and spatial relations and the development have been done, though independently in different fields of study, are felt to be somewhere connected in one or the other way. The developmental studies across different areas and fields of study have put forth and highlighted an important issue, i.e. ‘why, how, what and where is space?’

2. Research Objectives

The present paper as mentioned above deals with some of these issues, pondered upon in other fields of study, finding an echo in the study of Linguistics. In other words, how these issues have been taken

up and how they are related to the studies regarding space and spatial cognition pertaining to languages. The paper also tries to look into how the interaction and interplay of language and context happen to result in the birth of information and understanding whose knowledge depends upon the embodiment of the experience gained from interactions.

3. Some Literature on Space

There exists a sizable amount of literature pertaining to space from different fields of study containing different approaches and ideas. Since an issue like space forms a basic cognitive capability, so, it has been a matter of concern for the scholars and stalwarts since time immemorial. The change along the continuum regarding the thought process related to the idea or the concept of space can be seen right from the traditional view and the classical era to modern era and views till date, and still evolving in many aspects holding the hands of technological advancements and human developments. The Cartesian explanations of space and later Descartes' definition for motion in relation to its neighborhood bodies are both following the relational theory of space. There were also scholars who considered space as a void or nihil, scholars who tried to bring distinction between the space as the container and the material content. In the Kantian tradition space is a universal cognitive primitive, an "a priori form of Intuition", that conditions all of our experience. Later from the field like Physics, notions like Newton's idea of absolute nature of space and Einstein's theory of relativity have talked about Frames of References. Again works from the areas like Psychology, Anthropology (e.g. Franz Boas; Sapir and Whorf 1928), etc. have also contributed to the study of space. It is interesting to note that the mapping of language onto space is a topic of interest in many disciplines of cognitive science, including Neuroscience (e.g. Farah, Brunn, Wong, Wallace, & Carpenter 1990; Demasio et. al 2001; Baciú et.al 1999; Shallice 1996; Stein 1992); Cognitive Psychology, including Psycholinguistics (e.g. Carlson-Radvansky & Irwin 1993; 1994; Clark 1973; Garnham 1989; Landau & Jackendoff 1993; Levelt 1984; 1996), Cognitive Linguistics (e.g. Talmy 2000; Lakoff and Johnson; Langacker 1993, 2002; Vyvyan Evans 2003; Coventry, Carmichael & Garrod 1994, 2004; Coventry, Prat-Sala & Richards, 2001; Fiest 2000, etc.), Crosslinguistic works (e.g. Brown & Levinson 1993; Casad 1988; Langacker 1993; 2002; Levinson 1996; 2003; Regier 1996) and attention (e.g. Logan 1995; Regier & Carlson 2001); Linguistics (e.g. Jackendoff 1983; 1996; Vandeloise 1991); Philosophy (e.g. Eilan, McCarthy, & Brewer 1993); and Computer Science (e.g. Gapp 1994; 1995; Herskovits 1986; Schirra 1993). One of the reasons that this area has received so much attention is due to the fact that human beings share a common spatial experience, defined by living in a three-dimensional world put together with being subject to the forces of gravity, and with the orientation of our perceptual apparatus and direction of locomotion.

The literature mentioned above is just some part of the vast and exhaustive amount of works that is present and also going on. The point presented in this paper is from basically the Cognitive Linguistics point of view which tries to capture some of the aspects in other disciplines into cognitive analysis of language. Hence, it requires information on some of the ideas worked out for working on language and space in it. One of the assumptions on which cognitive method is based is that 'knowledge is encyclopaedic' is nature, i.e. we tend to gain knowledge based on the interaction with the environment that we experience. Some of the ideas which were taken up in analyzing language are like concept of Figure and Ground, Image Schema (Talmy 2000) and Trajectory and Landmark (Langacker 2002) having roots in Gestalt Psychology, idea of Frames of Reference (Levinson 1993; 1996) which draws its source from Psychology and Anthropology, etc.

4. Contents defining space in language

Talking about ideas in Cognitive Linguistics, one of the main philosophy which is being followed and dealt in the analysis of language and cognition, especially in concept formation and perception, is the

notion of ‘Embodiment and Experientialism’. Experientialism is a philosophical theory that states the role of experience as a source of knowledge. It was formulated by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). This philosophical thought was basically a response to the objectivist thought (i.e. God’s eye-view of the world external to humans) as advocated by Immanuel Kant. This theory has influenced the notion of cognition in language to a great extent. Talmy (1988b, 2000) has argued that conceptualized space as reflected in language is not Euclidean in nature, that is, it is not held to notions of fixed distance, amount, size, contour, angle, etc. but is topological in nature, i.e. conceptualized space ‘involves relativistic relationships rather than absolutely fixed quantities’ (Evans 2003), thus, resonating the time-honoured debate of absolute versus relativistic view of space. “Human physical, cognitive, and social embodiment ground our conceptual and linguistic systems” (Rohrer 2007). Formation of image schemas and embodiment of these perceptual experiences of the real world leads to the formation of conceptual systems and hence are conceptual in nature. In other words, ‘Schematization is fundamental to cognition, constantly occurring in every realm of experience’ (Langacker, 2008). What we can say basically when it comes to description using language is that the linguistic elements not only code the relational architecture of physical space but also embed that rich spatial understanding into the very fabric of language and grammar, which in turn stands as a testimony to the far-reaching influence of the human experience of spatio-relational configurations on more complex conceptualization. The entity which is described or receives the prime focus of description regarding location is called ‘Figure’ (F) or ‘Trajector’ (TR) while the secondary entity in relation to which it is described is called ‘Ground’ (G) or ‘Landmark’ (LM). The Frame of Reference deals with locating the ‘Figure’ in the search domain of ‘Ground’ with some angular specification or line. Based on this there exists, in broad terms, three Frames of Reference –Intrinsic, Relative and Absolute. Relative requires the use of observer’s body-features as ‘Ground’ for viewing and assessing ‘Figure’ in the scenario if the ‘Ground’ does not have any designated facet of its own or at times both ‘Figure’ and ‘Ground’ do not have of their own, Intrinsic requires that the speaker identifies the salient part or facet of ‘Ground’ and then takes from the designated component an angle which extends outward a certain distance, hence defining a search domain within which ‘Figure’ can be located. At last, Absolute requires set bearings or cardinal directions. These Frames of Reference occur along the horizontal axis or plane. It is also important to keep in mind the geometric factors which reflect the topology of the situation that includes the shapes and formations of the Figure and Ground and the information regarding their contact with each other. When we take these concepts into account, we actually tend to construe a particular scene. Langacker defines Construal as our ability to conceive and portray the same situation in alternative ways; every lexical and grammatical element incorporates a certain way of construing the conceptual content evoked. “In viewing a scene, what we actually see depends on how closely we examine it, what we choose to look at, which elements we pay most attention to, and where we view it from” (Langacker 2008).

Hence incorporating the various ideas mentioned and explained above one can say that understanding and interpretation of the concept called “space” is a multi-layered and rich task, requiring an in-depth understanding of language intricacies and the contexts at play.

5. Discussions

The following are a few sentences, which we hear in general day-to-day life that will give us glimpses of such intricate play of this language and space. The examples are basically containing elements showing static location on the sides (e.g. Front-Back, Left-Right, Up-Down, etc) and locative marker ‘-e/-te’ with the noun for showing point-location and also for the understanding interior, etc properties. Consider the following examples:

5.1 Examples of sentences using relative and intrinsic frames of reference

UP-DOWN

1. *lokṭa plætfɔrmər opor dāñie atʰe*
man.DEF. platform.GEN. on stand be.PRS.3S
'The man is standing on the platform'
2. *kɔlomṭa ʃebiler opor rakʰa atʰe*
pen.DEF. table.GEN. on keep be.PRS.
'The pen is kept on the table'
3. *balṭir opor dʒamaṭa rakʰa atʰe*
bucket.GEN. on shirt.DEF. keep be.PRS.
'The shirt is kept on (surface) the bucket'
4. *pakʰiṭa barir opor dije ure dʒatʃiʰe*
bird.DEF. house.GEN. above/over by fly go.PRS.CONT.
'The bird is flying above/ over the house'
5. *dʒamar opor dʒækeṭ pora acʰe*
shirt.DEF. over jacket wear be.PRS.
'Jacket is worn over the shirt'
6. *fomudrer tɔlajə/ nitʃe mukto pawa dʒaje*
sea.GEN. below.LOC. pearl get go.PRS.
'Pearl is found below/under/ at the bottom of the sea'(lit.)
7. *maṭir tɔlajə/nitʃe stuṭar ostittjo pawa gætʃʰe.*
soil.GEN. under.LOC. stupa.DEF.GEN. existence get go.PRS.PERF.
'The existence of the stupa was found under/beneath/ below the soil' (lit.)
8. *kʰaṭer nitʃe/ tɔlae bakʃoṭa rakʰa atʰe*
bed.GEN. under.LOC. box.DEF. keep be.PRS.
'The box is under the bed'
9. *gacʰ-er tɔla-e/nitʃ-e dāñie atʰe*
tree-GEN. down-LOC. stand.be.PRS.
"Standing under the tree"
10. *somudrɔ tɔle hadʒar rɔhoffo lukie atʰe*
sea floor.LOC. thousand mysteries hide be.PRS.
'There are thousands of mysteries hidden at the bottom of the sea'
11. *nitʃer tɔlate keu tʰakena*
down.GEN floor.LOC. whoever stay.3S.PRS.NEG.
'nobody stays at the downstairs (the down floor)' (lit.)

12. *pa-er tɔla-ta keʃe gætʃʰe*
leg.GEN. floor-DEF. cut go.PST.
‘The bottom of the leg (feet) got cut’ (lit.)
13. *lokʃa ʃirĩr nitʃe dāĩrie atʃʰe.*
man.DEF. stairs.GEN. down.LOC. stand be.PRS.
‘The man is standing at downstairs’
14. *lokʃa ʃirĩr tɔlaje dāĩrie atʃʰe.*
man.DEF. stairs.GEN. below/under.LOC. stand be.PRS.
‘The man is standing at below/ under the staircase’ (lit.)

LEFT-RIGHT/ FRONT-BACK

15. *gatʃʰ tar bam/ bā̃dike bɔlʃa atʃʰe*
tree.DEF.GEN. left direction.LOC. ball.DEF. be.PRS
‘the ball is to the left of the tree’
16. *tʃearer ɖan diker hatolʃa bʰeʃe gætʃʰe*
chair.GEN. right direction.GEN. handle.DEF. break go.PST
‘The handle at the rightside of the chair is broken’
17. *barir ʃamne ekʃa lok dāĩrie atʃʰe*
house.GEN. front.LOC. one.DEM. man stand be.PRS.3S.
‘A man is standing in front of the house’
18. *barir ʃamner geʃe ekʃa lok dāĩrie atʃʰe*
house.GEN. front.GEN. gate.LOC. one.DEM. man stand be.PRS.3S
‘A man is standing at the front gate of the house’
19. *lokʃa baser ʃamne dāĩrie atʃʰe*
man.DEF. bus.GEN. front stand be.PRS.3S
‘The man is standing in/at (the) front of the bus’ (lit.)
20. *batʃʰaʃa gatʃʰer piʃʰone lukie atʃʰe*
child.DEF. tree.GEN. back.LOC. hide be.PRS.3S
‘The child is hiding behind the tree’
21. *barir piʃʰone ekʃa pukur atʃʰe*
house.GEN. behind.LOC. one.DEM. pond be.PRS.
‘There is a pond behind the house’

These examples mentioned above are instances of spatial scene construal in relative as well as intrinsic frames of reference along the three-dimensional axes comprising of one vertical axis along the lines of UP-DOWN and two horizontal axes along the lines of LEFT-RIGHT (sagittal axis) and FRONT-BACK (transverse axis). These axes are derived from the bodily movement and orientation. In the examples (1) and (2), the Figures and the grounds are close contact with each other respectively. The

nature of the contact is vertically determined by the use of postposition ‘*opor*’ where the Figures (i.e. the man, the pen) is construed vertically in relation to the Grounds (i.e. the platform, the table) respectively. The “..up and down do not code relative vertical location of the TR in terms of partitioned space vis-à-vis a LM. Rather, they represent the linguistic means of expressing orientation of the TR in reference to an asymmetric LM along the vertical axis” (Tyler and Evans, 2003). In example (3), the ‘*opor*’ qualifies the verticality nature of contact where the LM (the shirt) is in contact with the non-canonical surface area of the bucket, i.e. when the bucket is kept upside down and the external bottom surface acts as the flat top surface on which something is kept. In examples (4) and (5), two situations can be observed where the former shows the TR is placed above and is not in contact with the LM and the latter describes the scene from the point of functionality rather than the geometry, i.e. the jacket, which is being worn to cover, has to be placed at some point which needs to be in vertical relation and in contact with the LM (the shirt) so as to fulfil the function of ‘covering’ the shirt. Thus invoking the *cover schema*, where, according to Brugman and Lakoff, the TR is an object whose two-dimensional extent covers the LM (extends to the edges of or beyond the landmark). (It is also worth mentioning that in example (4), it is the compound postpositional construction (‘*opor dije*’) which is actually showing the spatial relationship between the TR and LM. The first component shows the position of the object and the second component shows the movement. “The combination *upar diye* means that an object is moving (closely) through the surface of another object” (Racova, 1981), and here ‘the bird’ is in vicinity of ‘the house’ (even though the vertical distance might be greater). It is to mention that Bangla language does not have segregation or demarcation of different upward spaces denoted by different words; hence it denotes everything upward as ‘*opor*’, unlike, languages like English where the demarcation exists.

The set of examples from (6) to (14) describe about the downward orientation of TR in relation to LM. The word ‘*nice*’ is being used to denote downward orientation. In examples (6) to (14), it can be seen that the word ‘*tōlae*’ and ‘*tōl*’ are also used; etymologically it seems *tōla/tōl* mean surface or floor. It is also worth to mention that it is neutral in terms of direction along any axes. What determines the direction of *tōl/tōla* is the context based usage. In the examples the construction is [noun + genitive marker] + (*tōla/tōl*) which all together give the sense of *tōla* as being a downward entity. The conceptualization of *tōla/tōl* as something downward can be understood as ‘bottom’, ‘underneath’, ‘below’, etc. and hence giving a downward sense similar to that of ‘*nice*’. The location, depending upon the conceptualization, can be proximate (like just ‘under’, ‘underneath’, etc) or somewhat distal (like bit away and ‘below’) or marking the end flat or point surface (like ‘bottom’). There are instances also where there is no contact or no emphasis or assumption of an unbridgeable distance, the choice of either form is acceptable, i.e. when there is no emphasis on either being the proximate or distal. In the example (11), where the construction is [noun + genitive marker] + [deictic form + genitive marker] + (*tōla*) is the only case where the sense of *tōla* remains neutral surface or floor and not something as indicating downwards. The reason is the use of the deictic form *nice* is already showing the downward direction of the *tōla* (floor). Hence, the *tōla* cannot be replaced by *nice*, i.e. *nicer tōla* is possible but not *nicer nic*. The examples (13) and (14) might read the same at surface but there is a difference at the level of understanding; where the reading of the former could mean the downward direction in relation to the stairs, the reading of the latter could mean a space or location beneath or underneath the stairs (like some kind of closet or empty space).

The examples (15) to (20) deal with the spatial cognition in terms of the horizontal axes (i.e. FRONT-BACK (*jamne – pic^hone*) / LEFT-RIGHT (*ba^hbam – dan*)). In examples (15) and (16), the assignment of left and right directions which includes the vantage point deciding the position of TR to LM and the frames of reference construe the spatial scene. While in both the examples the objects

treated as TR and LM are both inanimate and non-human, yet the interpretation will show the difference in perception. In the former sentence, the LM (i.e. the tree) does not have any asymmetrical left or right of its own; hence the assignment of the direction of TR (which also does not possess any left or right asymmetry) in the search domain of the LM has been done externally from the point of view of the speaker or viewer. Hence, the frame of reference here is 'Relative' in nature. In the latter sentence, the LM (i.e. the chair) gets assigned its left and right which coincide with the way in which the chair functions (i.e. the way in which it is used to sit on it). Hence the chair gets functionally assigned intrinsic left and right to the respective handles. It is to mention that in the former example the TR was exterior and not in contact to the LM while in the latter case the TR (i.e. the handle) is the part of the LM (i.e. the chair). In examples (17) and (18), both the situations deal with the front space of the house but are construed with different frames of reference. In example (15), the reading can be based on the intrinsic frame of reference where the part of the house which is facing towards the viewer also typically functions as the part used for entry and exit movements and the TR is in the search domain of that intrinsic 'front' part, and hence the intrinsic frame is functionally assigned. The reading can also be relative as the side facing the viewer might not be used for anything and the 'front' of the viewer is assigned on that side and the TR is located in its 'front' domain of search. Hence, the relative frame of reference is externally assigned. In example (16), the reading is only intrinsic as the 'gate' is already assigned as the 'front' part of the house where the TR is located. Another important point is the specificity, instead of schematizing, in construal of the LM, i.e. the focus is on a specific part of the LM (the house) is mentioned instead of schematizing the whole house as a point object. It is also to mention that the TR is not in contact with the LM in the former example while it is in contact with the part of the LM in the latter example. In example (19), the point of view is either based on intrinsic frame of reference when the 'front' side of the car coincides with the part that moves forward or is involved in the function of frontward movement, or can be seen from the relative frame of reference when the side that the viewer is facing is assigned 'front' externally and possess no side of its own. Finally in example (20), the reading is based on relative frame of reference for obvious reasons since the tree has no intrinsic side and the back side of the tree is the one that is obstructed to the view of the viewer, i.e. the part which is opposite to the part of the tree which is facing towards the speaker/ viewer. Considering example (21), it shows the TR (pond) is located at the back of the LM (the house) which has functionally oriented intrinsic front and back assigned based on usage. Comparing (20) and (21), one can see the difference in assignment of frame for the same relation of 'back' and while the former is relative as the LM is unoriented, the latter is intrinsic by the virtue of LM being functionally oriented. The back side assigned here is not determined by the side that is obstructed from the view field but the side which is not used or less used and is opposite to the front of the house which is used always as entry or exit. As mentioned the front of the tree would have been the side that is facing the viewer and locating TR at or in front of the LM in a sentence such as in example (22) would be the region that is between the viewer's front and the tree's superimposed front.

22. *gatʰtar ʃamne cʰeleʃa dañie atʰe*

tree.DEF.GEN. front.LOC. boy.DEF stand be.PRS.3S

'The boy is standing in/at the front of the tree'

5.2 Examples of sentences using Absolute frame of Reference

23. *bariʃar dokkʰin pɔʃʃim dike ekʃa am gatʰ atʰe*
house.DEF.GEN. south west direction.LOC. one.DEM. mango tree be.PRS

‘There is one mango tree situated on/at the south-west side of the house’

24. *maʃʰer uttor diker bɔʃ gatʃʰɪta bʰeɳe gætʃʰe*
field.GEN. north direction.LOC. banyan tree.DEF. break go.PST.
‘The banyan tree at the north side of the field’

25. *gʰorer purbo dike tʰakurer tʃʰobiʃta rakʰa atʃʰe*
room.GEN. east direction.LOC. god.GEN. photo.DEF. keep be.PRS.
‘The photo, of the god, is kept at the eastern side of the room’ (lit.)

There are few instances where we get spatial descriptions in terms of absolute frame of reference (location determined in terms of cardinal points like north, south, east and west) like the above mentioned ones. These instances, as one can see, are required to describe the natural objects and are generally related to big scaled objects and large scaled spaces, e.g. examples (23) and (24), or are mostly socio-culturally conventionalised and maintained, e.g. example (25). The usages of this frame of reference is much restricted in Bengali, which is also a cultural specific property of a linguistic community.

5.3 Basic locative constructions using noun + locative case marker (-e/-te)

26. *lokʃta plæʃʰforme dāʃie atʃʰe*
man.DEF. platform.LOC. stand be.PRS.3S
‘The man is standing at the platform’

27. *kɔlomʃta ʃebile rakʰa atʃʰe*
pen.DEF. table.LOC. keep be.PRS.
‘The pen is kept at/in the table’ (lit.)

28. *balʃite dzamaʃta rakʰa atʃʰe*
bucket.LOC. shirt.DEF. keep be.PRS.
‘The shirt is kept in the bucket’

29. *dzomite gʰaʃ hoetʃe*
land.LOC. grass happen.PRS.
‘the land has grasses (or the grassy land)’ (lit.)

30. *dʒɔle matʃʰgulo roetʃe*
water.LOC. fish.PL be there.PRS.
‘The fishes are present in the water’

31. *sɔketʃe balb lagano atʃʰe*
socket.LOC. bulb attach be.PRS.
‘the bulb is attached to the socket/ the bulb is in the socket’ (lit.)

32. *akafʃe megʰ dzometʃʰe*
sky.LOC. cloud accumulate.PRS.
‘The clouds have accumulated in the sky’ (lit.)

The above examples are basic locative constructions having [noun + locative marker] as base structure denoting location. the above mentioned sentences in examples (26) to (32) expresses the locations which are varying in degrees and include situations where the TR is bounded by the area of a flat top surface region such as in example (26) and (27), situations where the TR is completely 'contained' within and is inside the region of LM such as in example (28) and (30), situations denoting TR being partially included or contained within the LM such as examples (29) and (31), i.e. lower part including the roots of the grasses are under the soil as they have grown and came up from soil while the socket is functioning as holder of the bulb or where the bulb is put, hence the socket is not mere containing the bulb but also keeping it in place such that the function is based on dynamic interaction between the two objects. And lastly situation like in example (32) where the LM is conceptualized as a very big container, which is three dimensional, porous and unbounded (Cuyckens, 1993), which allows movement from one point to another, even though it from small scale point of view it might not look like that. Hence, based upon the situations the level of inclusion and containment vary.

6. Conclusion

- The language reflects the cognitive ability for spatial dissection, which can be viewed as there exists multiple descriptions for one particular scene based on how the things are perceived. But this does not entail to say that there cannot or will not be any mapping of a scene to language; the judgment is based on the acceptance of a particular description of a particular scene rather than being biased towards the correct versus incorrect dichotomy. It is also to see that how we construe a spatial situation using some underlying factors. This understanding is very much important as to know how the Bangla speakers comprehend, which has a direct connection with the overall experience of various activities and interactions around or within a particular linguistic community.
- In all of the explanations provided for the examples we can see that there are instances where there exists mixture of perspectives resulting into interpretation difference, and at the same time challenges the considerations of discourse coherence and cognitive processing that suggests that it is better for description of a particular spatial scene if the communicators adopt consistent perspectives. Earlier works such as effects on cognitive cost by Tversky, Lee and Mainwaring (1999), etc. have shown the effects and reasons of mixing the perspectives.
- The Mirror image alignment (Tyler and Evans, 2003) in which the TR and the LM are in a face to face situation or are thought to be in such situation. This kind of alignment can be found among both animate and inanimate LM and TR with conditions that either one of them must be having an intrinsic front (may or may not be functionally) or both having intrinsic 'fronts' (e.g - *amra du dzon samna-samni/ muk^ho-muk^hi dārie atʃi* - 'we are standing facing each other (in front of each other's face)').
- It is important to mention that examples (1) and (26) are similar while example (2) and (27) are similar in nature of meaning and understanding at the surface level, but what differentiates them is the scene construal method being used to construe same scene into two different way and thus invoking a difference at the deep level of perception and ultimately at the level of underlying cognition.
- In terms of Frames of Reference, Bangla shows the use of Relative and Intrinsic Frame of Reference (i.e. Egocentric) as more while the Absolute Frame of Reference (Geocentric) is used in a limited and restricted manner. The application of these Frames of Reference also show that we tend to encode objects in small scale space in terms of Egocentric one while Geocentric is mostly restricted to encode spatial relation among the objects in large scale space.

- As already mentioned in the abstract of this paper, the paper has only dealt with the understanding and perception in terms of physical space around us. The application of these post-positions and the locative marker in terms of studying other things such as dealing with conceptual metaphorical spaces, polysemy, etc. are others are kept outside the purview of this paper.

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Coordinate Ellipsis in EkeGusii: An Overview

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ABSTRACT

This paper gives the distributional characteristics of coordinate elliptical constructions in EkeGusii. The syntax of the constructions is given using a Phase theoretic approach, one of the current theoretical constructs within the Minimalist Program. The Phase sliding theory is then tested for its efficacy to handle some cases of coordinate ellipsis.

1.0 Introduction

The idea of there being elliptical constructions is a major linguistic puzzle. In the literature, derivational accounts of ellipsis are diverged variously into structural (Fiengo and May, 1995) and non-structural (Jacobson, 2008) or conjunct reduction (or PF Deletion) or sharing (Multidominance) accounts. The structural approach assumes that ellipsis [e] has syntactic structure whereas the latter dispense with the notion of there being any structural correlate to it. In this paper we stay shy of the controversies involved with the study of elliptical constructions and adopt the structural account of ellipsis in coordinate constructions.

The derivation of coordinated constructions is traditionally assumed to involve an optional licensing of gaps or ellipsis and has led to the construal of the notion of coordinate ellipsis¹ (Klein, 1993) as one of the main categories of ellipsis as opposed to phrasal ellipsis (viz: NP-Ellipsis, VP Ellipsis and Sluicing). The phenomenon of coordinate ellipsis is the main focus of this paper because it is understudied in the EkeGusii Language as far as is known to us, and so the researchers give a preliminary analysis of it using data gathered in the field by Omari Robert and some from introspective data by the researchers, being native speakers of the language. This study will consider questions such as: what licenses ellipsis in coordinate elliptical constructions or Conjunct Reduction (henceforth CR) such as Stripping (or Bare Argument Ellipsis), which involve forward CR and Right Node Raising (or backward CR)? Are they derived due to syntactic or semantic identity?

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2.0 gives a quick glimpse of the coordinators and some

¹ Coordinate Ellipsis was introduced into the literature by Klein (1993) to refer to a constellation of elliptical constituents that are realized in coordinate structures.

examples of coordination constructions that realize ellipsis in EkeGusii. Section 3.0 discusses how coordination and ellipsis interact in EkeGusii. Section 4.0 critically examines how current minimalist accounts deal with the issues how coordinate ellipsis is derived and licensed in relation to the EkeGusii data.

2.0 Coordinate Ellipsis

In this section we seek to examine the distributional characteristics of coordinate ellipsis. Symmetrical coordination occurs across a number of phrasal categories in EkeGusii. A construction is considered symmetrical if the two syntactic elements that are articulated are of the same category, e.g. determiner phrases, verb phrases, adjective phrases etc. The attested symmetrical conjunct constructions in EkeGusii, however, exhibit distinct derivational profiles in relation to which gaps are licensed in the derivation process. The constructions involve the deletion of one or more phrasal constructions before they converge in the A-P interface. A number of coordinate ellipsis constructions have been stipulated in the literature, namely stripping or Bare Argument Ellipsis, Right Node raising, Phrasal Cluster Ellipsis. So far little is known as to whether these categories are viable in relation to Bantu languages, with specific reference to EkeGusii. Coordinate ellipsis is considered to be a form of Non-Phrasal ellipsis that obeys the following set of features given in (1) below:

- (1.) (i.) It can delete non-constituents
- (ii.) It cannot occur in subordination
- (iii.) It obeys parallelism conditions (cf.)

The lexemes: *na/naende/ne* “and”, *gose* “or” and *korende* “but” typically function as coordinators in EkeGusii. They also form constructions which may involve conjunction reduction that is ellipsis or sharing of some elements. Examples of coordinated sentences that involve conjunction reduction are given in (2) below.

- (2.) a. *Ogeto na-nchet-e end-agera na Mokeira boigo* Δ.
Ogeto 3SG-like fv C9 PL-food and Mokeira also
 “Ogeto likes food and Mokeira also”
 (Δ=*nanchete endagera*)
 b. [IP Ogeto [VP *nanchete endagera*] [BOOL *na* [IP Mokeira [VP ~~*nanchete endagera*~~]]]
 c. [IP Ogeto [VP *nanchete endagera*] [BOOL *na* [IP Mokeira [VP ~~*nanchete endagera*~~]]] *boigo*
- (3.) a. *Inche nabo n-ko-go-ak-a naende* Δ *n-gwa-kan-e*.
I can foc- Pres-Inf-hit-fv and foc/Sagr-Pres-pay-fv
 “I can hit you and pay you”
 (Δ=*inche*)
 b. [IP *Inche* [VP *nabo ngokoaka*] [BOOL *naende* [IP *inche*] [VP [*nabo*] *ngwakane*].
- (4.) a. *Chi-sese n-chi-a-nch-te ko-minyok-a korende chi-ombe ti-chi-anche-ti* Δ
NC10 dogs ...like tns infl run fv but NC 10 cows ..NC10 like neg ..run
 “Dogs like to run but cows don’t.”
 (Δ=*kominyoka*)
 b. [IP *Chisese* [VP *nchianchete kominyoka*] [BOOL *korende* [IP *chiombe*] [VP *tichianchete kominyoka*]]

If two items are coordinated then the coordinator or coordinating conjunction must come between the two conjuncts. If there are more than two conjuncts in the coordination, then the coordinator must appear between the last two conjuncts or between all the conjuncts.

2.1 The Syntactic Projection of the Coordinate Phrases

In accounting for the syntactic structure of the coordinated clauses, two predominant perspectives have

been proposed, namely the flat and binary structure. The proponents of the flat structure assume that there is some symmetry between the first conjunct and the second conjunct, whereas the latter group consider them to be asymmetrical (cf. Zhang, 2009).

In giving the syntax of the coordinator, it will be assumed that it is a branching node of the BoolP which is given as Bool' using the bar conventions and has a Bool⁰ as its head.

(5.) Projection of BoolP

BoolP = [BoolP [Bool' [Bool⁰ ...]]

3.0 The Ontology of Coordinate Ellipsis in EkeGusii

Coordinate ellipsis is considered to be a universal phenomena. The coordinate ellipsis constructions have elicited interest in generative grammars due to the fact that they involve economy principles in that they involve the deletion of matching syntactic objects to avoid redundancy on the surface. In the literature it is assumed that coordinate ellipsis in human language consists of subtypes such as Gapping (section 3.1), Stripping or Bare argument ellipsis (section 3.2), right node raising (RNR) (3.2) and Phrasal Cluster Ellipsis (section 3.4). In this paper we give examples of the coordinate ellipsis constructions that are realized in EkeGusii and give their syntactic analysis.

One of the issues raised in the minimalist literature is as to how they are derived. The derivation profile is then assumed to be driven by the same syntactic process and principles in a bid to unify the syntax of the phenomena (subtypes).

3.1 Gapping

The term *gapping*² was used to refer to the deletion of the verb (cf. Jackendoff, 1971; 1972) and has over the years been considered to be a cover term for a number of subcategories, viz: T-gapping (coordination of two TPs), C-gapping (coordination of two CPs) and V-gapping (coordination of two VPs) (Hernández, 2007). In Gapping constructions the verb with/ without its arguments or adjuncts is deleted. Consider the following examples in EkeGusii given in (6-7) below:

(6.) a. *Mokaya n-a-gor-et-e o-mo-gati na Bosire*

(Gapping)

Mokaya Foc-CL1-buy-PERF-FV AUG-CL-bread and Bosire

ama-bere.

AUG-CL-milk

“Mokaya bought bread and Bosire Milk.”

b. LF:

[_{IP}Mokaya [_{V'P} nagorete omogati [_{Bool}na [_{IP}Bosire [_{V'P} ~~nagorete~~ amabere]]]]

(7) a. *O-mo-mura o-mo-taabe na o-mo-nyerere* **(Backward v-gapping)**

AUG-NC1-boy AUG-NC1-tall and AUG-NC1-slim NC1

to-tag-et-e.

CL1-PL-want-PERF-fv

“A boy tall and slim we want”

b. [_{IP} [_{DP} Omomura omotambe [_{V'P} ~~totagete~~ [_{Bool} na [_{IP} [_{DP} ~~Omomura~~ omonyerere [_{V'P} totagete]]]]]]]

² Gapping as a subcategory coordinate ellipsis was first introduced by Jackendoff (1971) as a empty category that specifically occurs in coordinate clauses which is not a kind of ellipsis. However, the first use of the term can be accredited to Ross (1970)

3.2 Bare Argument Ellipsis / stripping

Bare argument ellipsis (henceforth BAE) can be considered to be a case of forward conjunct ellipsis which targets only one syntactic category in the second conjunct. Kolokante (2008) subcategorizes Bare Argument ellipsis into three elliptical predicate constructions, viz: stripping, negative-contrast and yes/no ellipsis. In his analysis BAE is syntactically derived by moving the remnant to the left periphery of the clause before the Inflectional Phrase (IP) is deleted in the Phonetic form (PF) or in Minimalist terms in the Articulatory-Perceptual Interface.

3.2.1 Stripping

- (8) a. Mokaya n-'o-mw-egarori na Δ o-mo-tiindi

Mokaya is AUG-CL1-proud and AUG-CL1-harsh

'Mokaya is proud and harsh'

- b. [IP Mokaya [_{v'p} n'omwegarori [_{Bool} na [IP ~~Mokaya~~ [_{v'p} n' omotiindi]]]]]

- (9) a. Mokaya nagorete amabere na Bosire boigo. (Stripping)

"Mokaya bought and Bosire also."

- b. [IP Mokaya [_{v'p} nagorete amabeere [_{Bool} na [IP Bosire [_{v'p} ~~nagorete amabere~~ boigo]]]]]

The distribution of coordinate ellipsis in simple coordination, involving one subject, as given above is not the same as in the case of coordinated subjects. The construal of a coordinate construction such as (10a) below can be considered to be a coordinate ellipsis island, if it is assumed that it is base generated and selects the arguments and moves them to the subject position then the coordinator is merged.

- (10.) a. Mokaya na Boera m-ba-gor-et-e ebi-koroto.

Mokaya and Boera CL1-PL-buy-PERF-FV

"Mokaya and Boera bought shoes."

- b. * [IP Mokaya [_{vp} ~~mbagorete ebikoroto~~ [_{Bool}IP [_{Bool} na Boera mbagorete ebikoroto]]]]]

The derivational history of the construction in (10 a & b) above does not include a step in which the predicate *mbagorete ebikoroto* is deleted as shown in (10b) in order for the construction to surface. The construction can only be considered to licence a form of Right Node Raised gap if the predicate involves reconstruction of a parallel merged predicate *nagorete ebikoroto* as given in (10') below:

- (10') IP Mokaya [_{vp} ~~nagorete ebikoroto~~ [_{Bool}IP [_{Bool} na Boera nagorete ebikoroto]]]]]

However, in sentences such as are given in (11-13) below, the coordinated compound subject constitutes one of the deleted constituents in coordinate ellipsis.

- (11.) a. Mokaya na Boera n'-ebe-garor-i na Δ Δaba-tiindi

Mokaya and Boera are CL1-PL-proud and CL1-harsh

'Mokaya and Boera are proud and harsh'

(Δ=Mokaya na boera Δ=na)

- b. [IP_{DP} Mokaya na Boera [_{v'p} n'ebegarori [_{Bool} na [IP_{DP} ~~Mokaya na Boera~~ [_{v'p} n'abatiindi]]]]]

- (12.) a. Mokaya na Boera m-ba-gor-et-e na Δ ko-oni-a

Mokaya na Boera Foc-CL1 PL-buy-PERF-FV and INF-sell-FV

ebi-koroto

CLPL-shoes

'Mokaya and Boera bought and sold shoes'

- b. * [IP [_{DP} Mokaya [_{Bool} na [_{DP} Boera [_{v'p} mbagorete ~~ebikoroto~~ [_{Bool} na [_{DP} ~~Mokaya~~ [_{Bool} na [_{DP} Boera [_{v'p} koonia ebikoroto]]]]]]]]]
- c. * [IP [_{DP} Mokaya [_{Bool} na [_{DP} Boera [_{v'p} mbagorete ~~ebikoroto~~ [_{Bool} na [_{DP}

~~Mokaya~~ [_{Bool} na [_{DP} ~~Boera~~ [_{vP} mbaonetie ebikoroto]]]]]]]

The compound subjects in the coordinate clauses we have seen so far exhibit the same characteristics as a single subject. This can be demonstrated further by considering examples (13 and 14), the subject Boera and Mokaya and just Boera have the same pattern of coordinate ellipsis generated in the second conjunct.

- (13.) a. Boera na Mokaya n-igo ba-ch-et-e na ΔΔko-iran-a

Boera Foc-PTL SM-come-PERF-FV and INF-return-FV

kegima igoro

immediately yesterday

“Boera and Mokaya came and returned immediately yesterday.”

- b. [_{IP} [_{DP} Boera and Mokaya [_{vp} nigo achete ~~igoro~~ [_{BoolP} [_{Bool} na [_{IP} [_{DP} ~~Boera~~ [_{vp} ~~nigo~~ koirana kegima igoro]]]]]]]]]

- (14.) a. Boera n-igo a-ch-et-e na ΔΔko-iran-a

Boera Foc-PTL SM-come-PERF-FV and INF-return-FV

kegima igoro

immediately yesterday

“Boera came and returned immediately yesterday.”

- b. [_{IP} [_{DP} Boera [_{vp} nigo achete ~~igoro~~ [_{BoolP} [_{Bool} na [_{IP} [_{DP} ~~Boera~~ [_{vp} ~~nigo~~ koirana kegima igoro]]]]]]]]]

Some of cases of forward ellipsis examined in this section all exhibit the tendency of deleting elements which are not equal to a constituent, which is a characteristic feature of coordinate ellipsis.

3.3 Right-Node Raising

Right-Node Raising is one of the constructions that occurs cross-linguistically which has been associated with coordinate ellipsis since it was stipulated in Ross (1967) though was so called by Postal (1974). It is considered to either involve the raising of an argument at the right periphery of conjunct constructions (hence its name) (cf. Postal 1974, Sabbagh, 2012) or the pivot is assumed to be external to the coordinate construction (cf.). In this paper we follow the former view to the generation of RNR constructions in Ekegusii since it explains how the interpretation of the first conjunct is fulfilled. The first conjunct may be incomprehensible if the copy of the shared argument is not raised. The coordination of two verbs yields cases of right node raising in EkeGusii as shown in (14) below.

- (14) a. *Mokua n-igo a-gor-et-e na Δ ko-oni-a chi-anga*

Mokua FOC-PTL SAGR-buy-PERF-FV INF-sell-FV CL-PL-cloth

chi-ngiya.

OAGR-good

“Mokua bought and sold good clothes”

- b. *Mokua nigo agorete ~~chianga-chingiya~~ na Mokaya nigo koomia chianga chingiya*

- c. *Mokua nigo agorete ~~chianga-chingiya~~ na Mokaya nigo aonetie chianga chingiya*

- (15) a. *Nabo eraabe Δ na ndeenga Δ Onserio nare omokori egaasi omuya*

May be and Foc-suppose Onserio Foc-is AUG-CL1-doer Work good

(Δ=Onserio nare omokori egasi omuya)

- b. [_{IP} [_{DP} Ø [_{vp} nabo araabe [_{IP} ~~Onserio nare omokori egaasi omuya~~ [_{BoolP} na [_{IP} [_{DP} Ø [_{vp} ndeenga [_{IP} Onserio nare Omokori egaasi omuya]]]]]]]]]

3.4 Phrasal Cluster ellipsis

Coordinate cluster ellipsis targets more than one categorial element for deletion in either or both of the conjuncts.

- (16.) a. A-ba-mura a-ba-taabe na a-ba-nyerere
AUG-CL1-PL-boy AUG-CL1 PL-tall and AUG-CL1-slim
 to-tag-et-e.
CLPL-want-PERF-FV
 ‘Boys tall and slim we want’
- b. [IP [DP abamura abatambe [v^P totagete [Bool na [IP [DP abamura abanyerere [v^P totagete
]]]]]]]
- (17) a. *Onserio Nabo a-ra-abe Δ na nd-eenga Δ n-are o-mo-kori*
Onsero May CL1-MOD-be and FOC-suppose foc-is AUG-CL1-doer e-gaasi
omuya
Cl-work CL1-good
 ‘Onserio may be and supposedly is a good worker’
 (Δ=omokori egasi omuya Δ=Onserio)

4.0 minimalist accounts of coordinate ellipsis

The derivation (a)symmetrical coordinated constructions is a controversial issue since it is challenged on the basis of what a given theory within the minimalist Program, which consist of a number of theories as per Putnam and Stroink (2009), assumed to be the syntactic computational process, such as the operational mechanisms involved : Phases (Gallego,), or copy (); internal merge () or parallel merge (Citko, 2005) and survive (te Velde, 2009). the tendency is to construe the mechanisms as if they apply autonomously. The derivational process actually involves nearly the entire repertoire of mechanisms already mentioned. In this paper we examine the derivation of coordinate ellipsis constructions by reference to the notion of Phases introduced by Chomsky (2000) in section 4.1 below.

4.1 Phase-Theoretic Account

In this section we consider some cases of Coordinate ellipsis in relation to the stipulations of the standard Phase-theoretic account (Chomsky, 2008) and Phase Sliding theory (Gallego, 2007) in order to establish their empirical efficacy in handling EkeGusii data. We argue that one needs to consider more factors than just the nature of the coordinated phrases in symmetrical constructions to determine how the output was generated.

4.1.1 Standard Phase Theory

Phase theory is basically the assumption that syntactic derivation proceeds in small chunks constrained by the memory capacity of persons which are referred to as phases. the notion of phases accommodates the notion of cyclicity, the idea that phrases longer than the matrix clause are derived in independent chunks i.e phase by phase (cf. Chomsky 2001;2004;2007 and 2008)..

Phasehood is constrained by a number of constraints, such as the Phase impenetrability constraint (henceforth PIC) given in (18) below. The PIC can be handy in determining how far phasal effects determine the derivational history of constructions.

(18) Phase Impenetrability Constraint (PIC):

In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α ; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations (Chomsky 2000:108)

Coordinate ellipsis is triggered after the coordinator is introduced in second syntax in order to merge the already merged matrix clauses. The phases are rendered open to further application of syntactic processes, in this case the deletion of redundant features in the two conjuncts. Consider the sentence in (19) below

(19) Moraa n-a-ri-et-e ri-toke na Boera boigo Δ. (Δ=nariete ritoke)

Moraa Foc-SM-eat-PERF-FV CL-banana and Boera also

‘Moraa ate a banana and Noera also’

The sentence in (19) above allows for the reconstruction of the second conjunct by the insertion of a focal element *boigo* ‘also/too’ after the deletion of the predicate thus violating the PIC. The construction challenges the argument that ellipsis is entirely determined by the mere matching of syntactic categories of the conjuncts and deleting them on either the first conjunct in the cases of RNR and Cluster coordinate ellipsis, or on the second conjunct in Gapping and Stripping constructions.

4.1.2 Phase Sliding Account

Gallego (2006) proposes that some constructions that involve displacement of lower copies involve what he refers to as phase sliding. Elliptical construction in the EkeGusii language involve the sliding of phases which feeds the ellipsis transformation. The ellipsis occurs to delete the two copies of the predicate or the verb phrase and its complement, which are shared by the first and second conjunct. The cases of EkeGusii constructions cannot converge after the application of the two transformations (phase sliding and VP-ellipsis) which occur on transfer to the articulatory-perceptual interface. In case the constructions are articulated after the phase sliding and deletion rule applies they will yield a construction that will crash at the interfaces.

Consider the NP-conjunct construction in which the object in both conjuncts that are used in deriving it bear the same compliment to the verb phrase given in example (20) below:

(20) *Maria na Mochama m-ba-gor-et-e e-getaabu.*

Maria and Mochama Foc-CL1PL-buy-PERF-FV CLSG-book

‘Maria and Mochama bought book’

(20’) Derivation Cycle in Second Syntax

(a.) [IP_{[BoolP[DPMaria [v_P nagorete egetabu] [Bool na [IP_{[DPMochama [v_P nagorete egetabu]]]]]}}

(b.) [IP_{[BoolP[DPMaria [Bool na [IP_{[DPMochama [v_P nagorete egetabu][v_P nagorete egetabu]]]]]}}

(c.) [IP_{[BoolP[DPMaria [Bool na [IP_{[DPMochama [v_P nagorete egetabu][v_P nagorete egetabu]]]]]}}

(d.) [IP_{[BoolP[DPMaria [Bool na [IP_{[DPMochama [v_P mbagorete egetabu]]]]]]]}}

The sentence in (20) above can be derived using a transformational cycle in which two symmetrical constructions are formed in the second syntax in which the coordinator *na* “and” is introduced before phase sliding occurs as in (20’a) above. The illustration in (20’) above indicates that the lower copy and the verb phrase of the first conjunct are available for the application of the ellipsis rule. The main concern as to which conjunct is available for deletion is determined by effects of phase sliding. The theoretical solution in determining the condition for deletion involves the Antecedent Contained rule, this opens up the first conjunct for further application of transformational rules which violates the Phase Impenetrability Principle (cf. Chomsky,) and the No tampering condition.

The NP conjunction clause in (20) above involves the phase sliding of the the copy of the Boolean clause *na mochama nagorete egetabu* ‘and Mochama bought a book’ as a result of the second conjunct, which is a phasal object, being pied piped along with the conjunct *na* ‘and’ and moved is into the first conjunct as shown I (20’b). The v_P in the first conjunct is displaced and is deleted as shown in (20’c) before final spell out at the Conceptual-Intentional and the perceptual-articulatory interfaces. The final step in the derivation involves the substitution of the plural morpheme *-ba-* which induces a phonological change of the focus marker from {*n-*} to {*m-*} before the construction converges at the interfaces. This also violates the minimalist principle of Inclusivity and the No Tampering Condition.

The derivation process goes for the symmetrical NP-coordinated constructions that take a distributive reading, that is, each of individuals in the NP conjunct is considered to have bought a book. However, for the case where we have a collective reading, in which both bought the same book, the ellipsis rule does not apply as a derivational rule in the cyclist. The coordinator is provided for as part of first syntax, that is, it is part of the merge rules of the IP phase and not a result of sliding up of another phase.

The proposal of using Phase Sliding to account for the derivation of coordinate constructions is empirically limited in so far as EkeGusii data is concerned. The derivation process that entails the use of the phase sliding rule of the second conjunct in symmetrically coordinated-NP that yields the conjunct construction in (20) above is blocked by the two compliments of the verb phrase in Ekegusii. Consider the coordinated clause in (21) below.

(21) *Bundi n-anch-et-e ama-tunda na Kerubo ama-bere*

Bundi Foc-like-PERF-FV CL7-oranges and Kerubo CL7-milk

‘Bundi likes oranges and Kerubo milk’

(21') [IP [BOOLP *Bundi n-anch-et-e ama-tunda* [BOOL *na* [IP *Kerubo n-anch-et-e ama-bere*]]]]

In (21) above the construction cannot involve any phase sliding because the objects serving as compliments are distinct. The ellipsis in the second conjunct is determined by a structural identity of the verbal element of the first conjunct and the second conjunct as shown in (21') above. In the cases (20 and 21) the focus was on the placement of the conjunct between two clauses that are structurally equal in which either the compound NP is generated or fails to be generated. The generation of coordinated constructions in which the objects are compound NPs is also possible in Ekegusii as in the example in (22) below:

(22) *Mokeira n-agor-et-e e-bunda na e-ngoko.*

Mokeira Foc-buy-PERF-FV CL-donkey and CL-Chicken

‘Mokeira bought a donkey and a chicken’

The ellipsis is as shown in (22') below.

(22') [IP *Mokeira n-agor-et-e e-bunda* [BOOL *na* [IP ~~*Mokeira n-agor-et-e e-ngoko*~~]]]

The construction in (22) is generated by the meeting the ACE criteria which induces the deletion of the equivalent subject, which is typically replaced with PRO in control theory, and the verbal in the VP, hence a case of mixed ellipsis.

The derivational rules for symmetrical VP-coordination involve both a verb compliment-ellipsis rule which a sub-type of VP-ellipsis and a canonical case of equi-subject deletion (a control construction). Consider the example in (23) below.

(23) *Mochama n-a-bwat-et-e na ko-nyeny-a e-ngoko.*

Mochama Foc-CL1-catch-PERF-FV and INF-slaughter-FV CLSG-chicken

‘Mochama caught and slaughtered a chicken.’

The example in (23) above involves the deletion of the object *engoko* in the first conjunct and the equivalent subject in the second conjunct.

(23') *[IP [BOOLP *Mochama n-a-bwat-et-e engoko*] [BOOL *na*

Mochama Foc-CL1-catch-PERF-FV chicken and

[IP ~~*Mochama n-a-nyeny-et-ee e-ngoko.*~~]

Mochama Foc-CL1-slaughter-FV CLSG-chicken

‘Mochama caught a ~~chicken~~ and Mochama slaughtered a chicken.’

Such a case of mixed-ellipsis can be accounted for by invoking the notion of deletion at the articulatory-perceptual interface after the application of the coordination rule. The sentence in (23') is well-formed in the CI interface but undergoes further morphological transformations before it is externalized as in (23) above. The derivation involves the move of a copy of the object *chicken* to the

ellipsis site in first conjunct, covertly, in the CI interface for interpretation. The deletion of the constituents involves two distinct processes: the subject of the second conjunct is deleted by matching the syntax of the first conjunct with the second, as is the case of the deletion in the first conjunct, though the latter violates the Antecedent constraint. The semantic interpretation of the backward deleted elliptical constraint involves raising whereas for the second elliptical element there is no movement involved. Hence the construction involves two distinct deletion processes occurring simultaneously. In such case, assuming a case in which the first conjunct IP phase sliding down in order to licence the deletion of the subject in the second conjunct, and the second conjunct doing so to licence the deletion of the object in the first conjunct is not only expensive derivationally but also counterintuitive.

5.0 Conclusion

In this paper we have demonstrated the ontology of coordinate ellipsis in EkeGusii in order to set up a basis for further analyses of the phenomenon. Coordinate ellipsis is an optional process in the language, and can be accounted for using the Minimalist Programme stipulations, however, we argue that the application of a phase sliding account cannot account for most of the derivation of the constructions in the language. Further research can be done on the semantics of the coordinate constructions.

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KNITTING RELATIONSHIP THROUGH COMMUNICATION: A DISCOURSE OF CORELATION

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ABSTRACT

Relationship and communication are two important components of human life with their implication on each other. Good communication finds its expression through good relationship and vice-versa. The nature of relationship determines the tone, words, structures and objectives of communication. Human factors of sensitivities and sensibilities cement relationship and communication. In this direction, the author dwells upon certain human, behavioural, attitudinal and organizational factors that are instrumental to effective, positive and productive communication. They help in establishing and sustaining long-term relationship. Communication and relationship enter into a faceoff when the space of mutual speaking is encroached upon by impatience to win the argument which needs to be addressed. Honest disposition of the communicators and mutual respect for each other binds them in a strong relationship. Relationship laced with finer communication has the potential to set and achieve goals. A faithful reconciliation between relationship and communication is pertinent to useful communication and long lasting relationship.

1. Research Objectives

- a. To study and analyse the factors that strengthen inter-personal relationship.
- b. To suggest how to undo the encumbrances that defeat effectiveness of communication.
- c. To research on how to achieve higher success rate of communication at interpersonal and organizational levels.

2. Origin of the idea

The research question of “Interpersonal Relationship Communication” finds its origin in the exposure of the author to the real life situations, where he has been involved in a host of social activities. Interpersonal relationship with people across the cross section of the society is the guiding force behind research on this topic.

Human life depends on two conjoining factors of relationship and communication. Inter personal relationship finds its expression through the opinions people hold about each other. The interpersonal views are communicated through the prism of relationship. Their views depend on the brief they hold about each other and the judgment they make about the subject matter. The pattern of

communication differs from one context to another depending on the nature of interpersonal relationship. The contents of the message, the tone, and intentions determine relationship and vice-versa. Two persons in a team, who do not vie each other, communicate in a noncompliant or subjective manner which might lead them to argument and/or disagreement. Contrary to it, if the people are tied in a strong relationship, they communicate in an objective way with enough space for understanding. This provides harmonious tone to accommodate each other's views. Communication reflects relationship and vice versa. On the positive side, relationship communication depends on the proportionate space for speaking and listening which generates mutual understanding about the subject matter and strengthens relationship. As the inseparable components of our lives, communication and relationship hold retrospective influence on each other. Interpersonal communication helps us understand interpersonal relationship. It is necessary to understand the meaning of the message i.e. content meaning, and the way it is communicated to make communication effective.

There are various factors that contribute to relationship communication. The environment of the organization and the interpersonal attitudes determine the nature and scope of communication. Hence, it is necessary to study the organizational and attitudinal factors to comprehensively understand relationship communication. According to Pace and Faules (1983): "An organization's survival depends on its ability to adapt to transact with the environment. Human beings are seen as information processors who respond to information found in the environment. The relationship between an individual and the person's context is determined by information exchange." Good organizational environment provides communication freedom to the people to express their opinions and encourages them to be objective in their responses. It provides an opportunity to all people to participate in the organizational deliberations. It helps the people to contribute to the life and growth of the organization. It reduces communication gap in the hierarchical order and encourages the people to take part in the decision making process.

3. TRUST AND RELATIONSHIP COMMUNICATION

Relationship is built up on the basis of mutual trust that exists between two people. One of the attributes of human behavior is to trust and to be trusted. It sustains on the strong foundation of interpersonal confidence and breaks in its absence. It is the binding force of relationship that enhances the effectiveness of communication. It establishes a common understanding of the message between the two as intended by the sender. Trust enables the senders to take the receivers along with their message. Similarly, it enables the receivers to go along with the content message of the senders. It establishes mutual understanding between the message content and the communicators.

It removes encumbrances of argument, disagreement and distortion of meaning in communication. It gives communication value to the message which binds the communicators in a strong relationship. The value-ridden communication influences the people to shoulder any new responsibility that benefits the organization and its people. Darling and Beebe (2007) address the issue of trust in communication as the epitome of ethics. According to them, ethical and effective "communication is the primary way in which any group of individuals, small or large can become aligned behind the over arching innovative goals of a creative developing organization". As the chief ethic of communication, trust aligns the people in a strong relationship. It is best evaluated when it is reciprocated by the other person without any presumption. Reciprocation of trust generates empathy in relationship and communication to make the people confide in each other. For Montada, Filipp and Lerner (1958), "trust offers the promise to bring order into a complex social environment." They refer to it as a "social mechanism which reduces the overwhelming complexity of social reality." They maintain that trust helps the people chart out a strategy to achieve the objective of a just social order or an organizational goal. Consequently, "an easily comprehensible schema of the social world is

constructed by the trusting individual which offers the opportunity to act with high subjective certainty" (426). Interpersonal trust assures the people of each other's empathy to take an initiative for the cause of general good. When we take initiative to establish a just social order in a situation where there is disenchantment with the circumstances due to annihilation and erosion of values, we win the trust of the affected. Trust establishes relationship between the victim and the deliverer.

Trust and empathic understanding bestows upon the deliverer a distinguished responsibility to ameliorate the existing disorderliness, if any. It binds the doer to honesty and job commitment. Pace and Faules see trust and commitment as interlinked factors: "Trust is thereby a foundational facilitator that helps to make it possible for the organization to function effectively. Trust implies accountability, predictability and reliability" (p.83). Trust promotes honesty and creates a conducive atmosphere for the communicators to interact in a fair way. The free channel of communication promotes healthy relationship between the communicators. John R. Brophy (2009) is of the view that: "Trust is the center of every successful team relationship. To build trust, team members must not only communicate with each other but must feel comfortable enough to communicate candidly and freely. Communication and trust are inextricably linked and they are central to any discussion of team building." Extending the argument he says "Open and to nest dialogue will result in more collaborative and respectful group setting. This dialogue can be established by communicating that individual and even collective. Vulnerability will be accepted without judgment." The openness, honesty and understanding created by trust bring people into a collaborative action and it promotes dialogue.

4. PARTICIPATORY COMMUNICATION AND RELATIONSHIP

Interpersonal relationship depends as much on understanding of each other as on the fulfillment of needs and desires. At the organization level, people wish to perform or prove their professional abilities to gain recognition and organizational benefits. To realize this objective, they seek a participatory opportunity of communication in decision making. It encourages them to put concerted efforts to achieve an organizational goal. Participatory communication is the first step to achieve participatory functional role through collective decision making and thereby, realize the needs and dreams. It uncovers the concealed ideas of the individuals and promotes an interpersonal transaction of ideas in an open organizational climate. According to Pace and Faules: "The organizational structure of superiors and subordinates, their interdependence on each other, the relationship among the people, the organizational goals, communication as a link of all these elements fall within the frame of Organizational Climate. Organizational Climate has much to do with how communication relationships are executed and interpreted" (p. 207). Furthering the contention they say: "Organizational Climate" is significant to participatory communication at various hierarchical orders to facilitate its people to participate in the decision-making process. An accommodative tone of the superiors in the decision making process encourages the subordinates to take up responsibilities. It knits them in a strong interpersonal relationship. Wagner (1994) stresses on the importance of participation of all in the communication process as: "Participatory management practices attempt to diminish the hierarchical structure of the organization in order to involve managers and subordinates in information processing, decision-making, or problem solving endeavors." The organizational structure, with its hierarchical order of "superior-subordinate relationships", has its controlling influence on the communication process: "Regularities and patterns in superior-subordinate communication have implications for almost the entire organization. When superior-subordinate relationships can be strengthened, the human resources of the entire organization can be strengthened" (Pace and Faules, p.196). Participatory communication, in good organizational climate, breaks the barriers of hierarchical order and provides equal opportunities for all in the communication process and organizational functioning. It strengthens hierarchical relationship and accentuates human resources.

The affable organizational climate strengthens the relationship by allowing free flow of

information between the subordinates and the superiors. It encourages even the subordinates to communicate the negatives without "fear" and goads the superiors to receive the information without any self perspective. Strong relationship makes functioning smooth and enjoyable. Richard M Steers (2002) brings communication fear of the subordinates and the superiors' response to it on reconciliatory terms. He visualizes a strong interpersonal relationship when the superiors think in reconciliation terms about the views of the subordinates, however different they might be. Reconciliation converges different views into a single idea and facilitates for the common terms between the subordinates and the superiors. It strengthens participatory communication and relationship in the hierarchical order. It generates more information that helps the organization grow: "If the employees had less of negative consequences for admitting mistakes, superiors would be more likely to receive rapid and accurate information on trouble spots for which they could then seek remedy." Trust mitigates communication fear and augments communication freedom to achieve communication finery. Fear is an impediment to the hierarchical communication that blocks the subordinates from expressing their views freely. Trust promotes reconciliation and removes the bottlenecks and strengthen relationship.

Trust in and respect for each other promote participatory communication and strengthen relationship. It opens up a two way communication channel with mutual respect and care. Allan Freitag and Ashly Quesinberry Stokes (2009) emphasize on caring attitude by the higher-ups as central to a two way communication channel: "in the (participatory communication) relationship between (two hierarchical orders) should be based upon demonstrated concern by the management for the welfare of its (people). Companies that emphasize two symmetric communication structures are likely to gain acceptance, trust and loyalty of the (people) (P.126). The 'two symmetric communication structures' bring in accountability among the people and a functional relationship emerges with trust, respect to help them confide in each other. Ronald C. Arnett (1986) demonstrates the communication value of the message that emerges out of mutual interaction as: "When the meaning of communication emerges with both parties' participation, there is less impulse to doubt. Each party has some input into the communication outcome" (P.57). Participation removes speculations about the message because, on the other end, it makes the interactants accountable. Confidence, respect, care and trust, provide a smooth channel to participatory communication and directs it towards strong relationship. Thomas Tufte and Paolo Mefalopulos (2009) explain the utility of participatory communication as: "Despite the emphasis on dialogue and reflection, participatory communication is also strongly action-oriented. As a crucial ingredient of participatory communication, the empowerment process is based on reflection on problems, but also on integration of action- the attempt to act collectively on problem identified. It grounds the talk in real life problem" (P.11). The journey from participatory dialogue to participatory action demands a strong relationship among its people. Through communication and action, people exercise attitudinal reflection, clarify and confirm each other's views and establish relationship. They hold the view that participatory communication engrosses people to commitment and through commitment they get connected to management: "Key results of participatory communication are the articulation of awareness raising and commitment to action. First and foremost, it becomes a process of empowerment for involved communities that feel commitment to and ownership of the problem." In this backdrop, let us analyze the communication example of Margerison (2005) with the objective to know how participatory communication builds up relationship for a common cause:

Clark: Jim, I have noticed over the last 12 months that your sales figures have been lower than previously, is there a specific problem?

Reid: I've had a few problems in my area with old customers going out of business and that has made it difficult. My area is a tough district in which to do business. There is a lot of unemployment. I've been covering the same territory for the last 5 years, so it's about time

I had a change.

Clark: well, I could arrange a swap to the eastern area if that would be of interest. (p.22)

This communication example reflects relationship between the superior and the subordinate. It shows their intention to resolve the issue of sagging sales. Such understanding and responsibility-based communication can take place only when the climate is conducive. The lack of fear and good relationship makes the subordinate express his views freely in a moderate tone and an informal style. The concern of both the communicators is to address the issue of sagging sales that would affect their job prospects. It could be resolved through their combined efforts. The need of participatory efforts takes them through participatory communication in a moderate tone and informal style. Though it is brief in its contents, it shows the participation of both in resolving the issue. The subordinate-superior relationship occupies proportionate space to speak and listen to each other. The use of personal name 'Jim' (presumably, the second name because he is referred to as Reid) by the manager makes the communication friendly. In the situations of inquiry, superiors communicate in a precise way because elaborated inquiry overshadows the issue and jettisons the subordinates. Clark is in concurrence with the rule of brevity. Though the complementary 'well,' sounds as a stock word of the speaker, it also suggests agreement about the proposal between the two. The appreciative words are necessary for the participative communication. The good organizational climate and communication balance provide stability to relationship and achieves the comprehensibility of the message.

According to the 1991 report of The National Communication Association, San Francisco, the nature and scope of communication depends on its code of ethics. The code of ethics of communication encompasses "human worth and dignity by fostering truthfulness, fairness, responsibility, personal integrity, and respect for self and others." It fixes accountability on the communication parties as: "fundamental to responsible thinking, decision making and the development of relationship and communities within and across contexts, cultures, channels and media." The functional value of relationship communication is characterized by the goal it accomplishes: "Communication is typically goal oriented; whether the communicator achieved his or her intended goal is an important element in determining whether the message was effective" Pace and Faules (1983). Notwithstanding goal orientation, communication can, nevertheless, focus on relationship and sail together. A comprehensive purpose of goal and relationship orientation makes communication more productive. Hence, an attempt is made to present communication as both goal and relationship oriented.

5. GOAL ORIENTED COMMUNICATION AND RELATIONSHIP

Though goal oriented communication sounds to be specific to mere accomplishing the goal, it cannot be exclusive of its relationship connotation. Goal cannot be accomplished in isolation because it necessarily depends on teamwork with mutual concurrence. The concurrent and coherent teamwork stimulates communication towards the goal in a better way. The 'goal' and 'relationship' orientation is the dual function of communication. It sounds mundane if communication is intended to achieve mere work target with lack of concern for relationship. Goldreich, Juba and Madhu Sudhan (2009) refer to the early 1920s approach to communication which briefs that "communication should be regarded as a means to an end and that the meaning of communication should be taken as no more or no less than the ends achieved via communication (P.4). This approach falls in the gamut of hierarchical communication where relationship is purely target oriented with freedom to the leader communicators to adopt any style to convey the target message. It states that, with focus on goal, The communication freedom of the leader communicators and the work pressure might persuade them to use a coercive style. The invariable use of coercive style might not augur well for all situations because it takes strict language structures and regimental tone to transmit the message. It might be circumstantially used with

a follow up redressal measure to undo the coercive tone of communication. If it becomes an all-time-communication-style, it spoils working relationship. It can demoralize the work force and create communication gap. In that context, it will be countered by the subordinates' "defensiveness, protectiveness, and often legalistic language" and the "escape clauses" which will widen the communication and relationship gap. "Corporate Communication's affinity for aggressive, militaristic language in terms of constraint of time, and expediency and efficiency of standardized communication (are the) strategies designed for large-scale effectiveness. However, such communication strategies run the risk of dehumanizing the intended targets, distancing the individuals, and compromising socially responsible corporate behavior" Dhir (2006). Under the duress of authoritative leadership, the subordinates might resort to coercive communication with detached interest in their efforts to achieve the target. The coercive style might affect the interpersonal relationship and take toll on involvement of the subordinates in accomplishing the goal.

In the liberal economy, as the employer holds the right to dictate organizational terms to the employees, the employees also hold the right to disallow those terms to prevail upon them by calling it a day. Here lies the implication of goal oriented communication to achieve target as well as maintain the relationship between the employers and the employees. The communication experts suggest that goal oriented communication should aim to achieve the work target under the influence of good relationship. Hence, the leaders communicate in a judicious way to achieve the goal, establish themselves in the organization and accordingly build up relationship. However, if it were a coercive style initially, it may soften itself, in course of time, when the relationship gets established on the basis of mutual understanding. It helps the superiors and subordinates understand and listen to each other, implement the message and achieve the goal.

Goal oriented communication is first a commitment to own self before it is communicated to others. The goal oriented communicators display their robustness of confidence, commitment and pursuance. Their internal thoughts come to the fore when they communicate the goal.

Goal oriented communication gains its sheen when it takes care of the relational needs of the people because relationship is augmented on the basis of needs and desires. Their nature could be organizational or individual. Since organizations and individuals are not different entities, they should be connected with the realization of each other's needs. If they are not connected, they remain in their respective spheres heralding loss of each other's growth. Myron D. Rush (2002) attributes it to lack of 'mutual concern' which results in the loss of relationship. "As people become more self-centered, they develop less concern for those around them. As the relationship continues to deteriorate, each individual tends to think only of himself and his unmet needs and loses all concern for the needs of others. The individual cannot see how his own self-centeredness is hurting the others in relationship-for he is focused only on himself. An attitude of self-pity prevails throughout the relationship" (p.67). Relationship becomes counterproductive in the absence of concern for each other. Elaborating the argument in favor of 'mutual concern,' Rush says: "At the point (of lack of trust) the relationship is no longer productive. Needs are not being met and problems are no longer being solved. And since communication has broken down, there is not much hope that things will get better. Despair begins to set in" (P.68). Mutual concern helps realize each other's needs and prevents despair to creep in. It bears good fruit through relationship to the people and makes goal realization easier.

A particular strategy of communication is required to bring mutual concern and fulfill the desires and the needs to sustain relationship. Little John and Karren A. Foss (2009) give a euphemistic relationship communication strategy of "communication competence." According to them: "Fundamental competence (of communication) concerns cognitive ability that helps individual communicate effectively in different situation" (P.149). The cognitive ability expands the horizons of communication competence by including the social skills of an individual to connect with others and linguistic skills to "execute languages and messages in the process of interaction." The two specific

areas of competence that hold more water to building relationship through goal oriented communication are "interpersonal competence" and "Relational Competence." The former is "more goal oriented and concerned with individual ability to accomplish tasks by demonstrating certain successful communication skills" and the latter "highlights the importance of reciprocal process of interaction, in which the interactants are able to establish relationship with each other to achieve goals" (P.149). The pragmatic nature of communication is asserted when it includes the objectives of interpersonal relationship, linguistic capabilities and determination to achieve the goal.

John F Kennedy's goal oriented communication on September 12th, 1962 about reaching the moon sums up the issues of goal and relationship discussed above as: "We choose to go to the moon. We choose to go to the moon in this decade and do the other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard, because that goal will serve to organize and measure the best of our energies and skills, because that challenge is one that we are willing to accept, one we are unwilling to postpone, and one which we intend to win, and the others, too."

The speaker uses goal oriented communication with the motivational skills in tandem with relationship objective, too. The first single clause sentence 'We choose to go to the moon' is a goal statement. The repetition of the single clause sentence becomes the main clause to take eight subordinate clauses. A matter of fact tone is generally used in the motivational communication as is the case with John Milton for Satan in *Paradise Lost* or Shakespeare for Antony in *Julius Caesar* to persuade their respective subjects for their respective goals. The speaker intends to prepare the listeners mentally to make them feel positive about the challenges and arouses their strong feelings in favour of the goal. He outlines how beneficial the goal of going to moon would be to the individuals and the nation as a whole. It is the technique leaders use to explain the utility of goal to the subjects. The contrasting structures 'not because they are easy, but because they are hard' are carefully planned to prepare them to take up a challenging task which would fulfill their (organizational and individual) needs and desire. The goal connects the president with the scientist community. His communication is inclusive of goal and relationship. It generates mutual concern between the speaker and the listeners for each other. His long speech which is not quoted here due to constraint of space, rest assures that he was well informed about the goal and its benefit to the country and the countrymen.

6. EQUALITY

The inequality in relationship emerges when there is disparity in the sharing of assets and opportunities among the people. It gets widened when there is improper sharing of information among the people of various hierarchical orders. Equality gains significance, especially in the hierarchical order, where the possessiveness of the superiors prevents them from sharing information with the subordinates. The superiors do not impart information with the subordinates out of presupposition that it would encourage them to challenge their perceptions. The fear of challenge and subsequent retention of information makes them resort to defensive style. Retention of information is a form of possessiveness with tendency to refuse adaptability. Possessiveness could emerge out of an individuals' need to safeguard their position. According to Aelred Watkin (1994), "The sense of insecurity frequently vents itself in possessiveness, the urge to acquire things or persons for our very own. Insecurity feels that once it has acquired the sole rights over a thing or a person it has insured itself from danger at all points" (P.39). Insecurity will not allow others to intrude into one's mental frame. It makes the people egoist about own self and prevents them from being open minded to appreciate others or acknowledge their importance in any task accomplishment. "Possessiveness, however, tries to demand (adherence of the people) as something over which it exercises executive power and imagines that it is in a position to dictate terms" to others (p.41). It gives controlling power to the possessors of information or generates feeling of seclusion among the group.

Possessive communicators cannot reach out to their group members. Their communication will

be close-ended and self-centric with attitude influence, which creates gap in interpersonal relationship. The group members distance themselves from the self centered person. Contrary to it, the sense of equality helps to evaluate the talent of others: "Equality is the willingness to respect and value other people as they are. It places prime importance on the ways people can help each other, and thus begins the cycle of self-fulfilling mutual benefits" (P.39). Equality provides a collaborative chance to the group to endeavor collectively with mutual respect for each other. It makes communication open-ended to allow others' suggestions and appreciate their merits. There will be mutual dependence without a sense of egoism or mental compartmentalization.

Communicators can interact better when there is equality and congenial climate. Interpersonal communication can flourish when there is equal opportunity for all to exchange their views in an amicable way. Julia T. Wood confirms the need of congenial climate to establish equality as: "Communication that conveys equality is confirming and fosters supportive communication climate. We feel more relaxed and comfortable communicating with people who treat us as equals." Citing the benefits of 'equality,' she says: "Equality communicates respect and equivalent status. We can have exceptional experience or ability in certain areas and still show regard for others and their contribution to interaction. Creating a climate of equality allows everyone to involve without fear of being judged inadequate" (P.211). It knits a fine interpersonal relationship among the people and encourages them to become proactive and contribute to the growth of the institution. The leader communicators win over their subordinates with a few words of acknowledgment and encouragement. They instill confidence in them to think positive about each other. Consequently, the communicators establish a strong relationship in the hierarchical order and foster a sense of equality.

7. SELF-DISCLOSURE AND RELATIONSHIP

Self-disclosure is an interpersonal communication act that is important to relationship because it opens up gates for mutual understanding and sharing of information about each other. The success of communication depends on mutual understanding and information that establish proximity between two people. Julia T. wood's analysis that "Self-disclosure is the revelation of personal information about ourselves that others are unlikely to learn in other ways" provides opportunities to the recipients to know the unknown information about the discloser. Disclosure can fulfill the communication need to understand and seek information because it encourages the participants to open up their inner selves. It is a revelation process where one shares personal information with another. Valerian J Derlega and John H Berg (1987) define the role of individuals in the self-disclosure process as: "The individual members of a relationship are the repositories of the information they exchange, and they bring to relationship their own unique histories of past intimate experiences. They are the ones who engage in the process of sharing, and modify this transactional process according to their perceptions of the social-situational context" (p.156). A mutual unbiased realization of information makes the individuals confidants of each other. Being confidants help each other to take communication through past and facilitate better realization of future. It gives them freedom to participate in the discourse based on the 'social-situational contexts.'

A mutual and interpersonal communication opportunity is important to make disclosure complete and effective. It cannot be complete when one is a discloser and the other is a concealer of information. An incriminating disclosure leads to lack of trust in communication and relationship. Trust encourages the participants to reciprocate in the disclosure on equal terms. With emphasis on trust, Valerian J Derlega and John H Berg (1987) propose different theories to achieve disclosure reciprocity. The first proposition "is based on trust-liking approach and holds that receiving intimate disclosure increases trust in and like for the discloser. The recipient is then expected to return these feelings" (P. 4). The revelation takes place on the basis of each other's trust which would encourage them to share all information. They make them share information that others could not know except

through the disclosure process. Since the purpose of disclosure is to know each other, it does not do well for relationship, if only one person does self-disclosing and the other remains a silent receiver. It should be a mutual sharing of strengths and weaknesses, sad and happy experiences between the two communicants.

Disclosure is the internal reflection that takes place on the equal terms of the participants' circumstantial and emotional reasons. Driven by the same circumstances and emotions, when the participants interact interpersonally, their identicalness compels them to disclose equally. In the situation of identicalness of circumstances and emotions, the second proposition "emphasizes the influences of social norms. It holds that social norms similar to those of equity theory govern exchanges of disclosure and obligate the recipient of disclosure input from another to reveal in turn from another to reveal in turn information that is of comparable intimacy." The equity of circumstances and emotions encourages them to open up in reciprocation. The second proposition might bring out the information related to the emotional responses and circumstantial experiences that could/could not be disclosed. The third proposition of disclosure reciprocation takes place on 'give and take' basis. When the speaker discloses some information the recipient feels to reciprocate it in the same way. It holds the view that "much of disclosure reciprocity is simply the result of modeling with the recipient of disclosure imitating the initial speaker." It can be called a professional approach to disclosure process. Of all the three propositions, the disclosure reciprocity is more productive where the participants find themselves on equal terms of communication. The modest self-disclosures about one's failures or stories of victimization might prompt the recipients to disclose similar experiences and empathize with the disclosers. The empathic self-speaking establishes relationship between the communicators. The intimacy brought out by disclosures eludes apprehension and encourages the people to communicate freely.

Most of us are willing to keep disclosing to a person we don't know well only as long as other person is also revealing personal information." Since it is not an interpersonal but a self-disclosure, there is no scope of the 'other person' to reveal 'personal information' to the other. With emphasis on self for self-redressal, the discloser feels more 'comfortable' by sharing his 'weakness' which might have provided him mental relief.

The factors of reciprocation, trust, equity, 'modeling with the recipient,' circumstances and emotions, determine the quantum of disclosure. The balance of disclosure is necessary for communication and relationship. It should not be too open or too close a disclosure to tilt communication and relationship balance on any unwarranted side. Revelation should be practiced on the basis of mutual trust, equity and understandability of the recipient. Robert M. Thimchak (2009) prescribes the quantum of self-talk as: "Self-disclosure, or how much of your inner person you decide to share with another, is a risky, yet necessary, part of building and maintaining healthy relationships. We wonder how much to disclose to others and the appropriate time to share our deeper selves with others. If we share too much of ourselves too soon, the other person may be unable to accept what we offer of ourselves." In addition to quantum, he lays emphasis on timing of disclosure as: "If we wait too long or keep too much of our inner life hidden from others, they may be unable to wait for us to decide what and when to disclose. Maintaining a balanced approach to relationships can be the most effective way to assure healthy and happy relationships." The discloser has to sensitize the timing and information to be revealed to safeguard 'the healthy and happy relationships.

8. CONCLUSION

Communication is the touchstone of interpersonal relationship. The tone and tenor of a person reflects the nature of relationship people are bonded in. Good communication has the potential to convert any adversity into an opportunity to strengthen unity of thought and action. It strengthens interpersonal trust and steers the people in the direction of objective and empathic understanding. Empathic

understanding provides mutual participatory opportunity to the people in all walks of life. The feel of trust and empathy coupled with mutual participation help the people achieve the goals with collective and cognitive abilities. It erases the barrier of inequality and provides equal opportunity of sharing the end result of collective efforts. The dynamics of trust, empathy, equality, reciprocation, mutual concern, etc are central to communication and relationship. The sense of equality encourages people to be proactive in their institution building efforts. It removes the encumbrances of fear and insecurity and fosters interpersonal relationship on equal terms. Irrespective of organizational hierarchical order, the superiors and subordinates will coexist with utmost understanding and empathy. The words of encouragement and acknowledgement of the superiors endear them to the subordinates. It helps in building up congenial atmosphere.

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Book Review:

Language Matters by B.N. Patnaik (2018). Publisher: Dhauli Books. ISBN-10: 9788193602560. ISBN-13: 978-8193602560. ASIN: 8193602560. Pages 134. 2018.

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The institutional location of the expert is cautiously hidden in between the demarcation lines that differentiate “the rest” from the centralised dissemination valve that decides the co-ordinates of cordial power play in the modern times.

The horizontal hierarchy apparently conceals its dysfunctionality by denying its own existence, to begin with. The simplest way to put complex systems into context is by contextualizing the same in terms of literature; and that done with the help of Marquez’s ‘I Only Came Here to Use the Phone’ is highly innovative and something not a lot of neo-liberal theorists would probably be too fond of!

‘Language Matters’ is a book that reminds us how more often than not, ‘people’ tend to consolidate a language rather than just using one. In that sense, ‘people’ are a language encompassing the language that they use for particular kinds of exchanges.

There are other intriguing notions that the book quite bluntly introduces us to such as the fact that Chomsky went on writing to the Bureau of Internal Revenue about not paying taxes to the American government as a response to its decision to ensue the Vietnam War despite possessing the knowledge that it would probably never be read is an example that suggests that it is not too rare to find a situation wherein the individual need not engage in conversation with a second individual to communicate, or as a matter of fact, engage in any form of exchange. W.B. Yeats’ conceptualisation of a dialogue between the self and the soul is in fact as real a form of ‘exchange’ as it could get.

Although a few legitimate points have been made regarding the absence of proper reference with the help of which the paradigm shift in the context of an egalitarian continuum can be made even theoretically, the fact that hierarchies are not always vertically stratified is inevitable. It would be a pleasure to mention a part of an exchange I had had with Prof. Bishnupriya Dutt a while ago before I had come across the book. She had asked me if the transcendental journey towards the prevalence of hybrid languages is a good or a bad thing. The common minimum that could be traced out was that although such changes often occur without the conscious realization of an individual, ‘the individual’ – placed in a locus that is multi-dimensional and largely global is a part of an inherently collective consolidation. This in itself as a chronology of events is linked to unorganised changes in the linguistic orientation. As an example, take into account the loss of language of music. Speaking of the contemporary music industry, it is now dominated by a market that is far more concerned with beats

and rhythm, often dissociated from the discourse of human language consisting of the verbal-auditory channel altogether.

The opportunity cost of the loss of cultural, social and political resource under such circumstances is so vast that it is not even quantifiable. Now, step down and think about a more pragmatic problem such as the dominance of English as a language. Adaptability that is associated with the language that has become a tool under the heavy influence of the multiple billion dollar market controlling the media and publishing houses (and vice versa) , the discourse of knowledge being codified, and codes being sold propagating and establishing a massive power game is derivable. After all, who would deny knowledge is power?

What is obviously beautiful about the book is its technique of citing examples that are both genuine and innovative. It also makes ample visits to various genres of literature – beginning from Marquez right upto the dormant ghost stories hidden at the heart of Odia folklore that instantaneously elevate the spirit.

It also does quite an impressive job on the language that it has taken up. The dive that you take into the lake soon becomes a joyride that is still relatively tranquil and yet highly insightful as a journey. People who feel an affinity with the common basis of the use of language associated with public intellectualism would definitely enjoy reading the book.

However, the conceptualisation and depiction of motion and of imagery could have had a little more to offer, delving into methods of reaching the human mind that runs deeper than the concept of the brain cells. Whereas there is ample discussion and an ample number of metaphors associated with, say, the game of football, or footballers on that note – the number of people who take an interest in language politics or sociolinguistics and yet do not want to take an interest in a game of football is perhaps not meagre.

The socio-cultural references suggested and the kind of introspection that ‘spaces’ in generic terms have been subject to introspection, not succumbing to nomenclature of a particularly defined kind is indeed a praiseworthy bright aspect of the book. However, even Chomsky himself, as I understand from the last conversation that we had had over e-mail last month have had to deal with a “paradigm shift” in context of something as lucidly humane as fervour. He himself is somewhat more concerned about finding an alternative method of expression that stretches beyond the academic discourses within the defined categories of arts and humanities and is somewhat more inclined to surpassing traditional, institutional academic practice. (And for those of us who were perplexed if he himself accepts him for a linguist or not, as a matter of fact, he does!)

This is suggestive of what the book has insinuated several times – the channelization of power and hierarchy is cruder, more brutal and more unjust than ever. If then, there is an initiation point that opens up the possibility of such dynamic purposes of being through our eyes and attempts to pursue more than its own existence as written, printed academic material, ‘Language Matters’ could set an example.

The jump that it takes across continuums makes time indeed look more fluid and somewhat revisitable, something that the sheer power of very intense kind of literature is generally known to be capable of. The simplicity of its method of ensuing conversation with the reader quite directly and slowly but gradually letting him observe the several possibilities and ideas not too optimistically but nevertheless seldom pessimistically makes the book worth a read to language enthusiasts irrespective of their age groups.